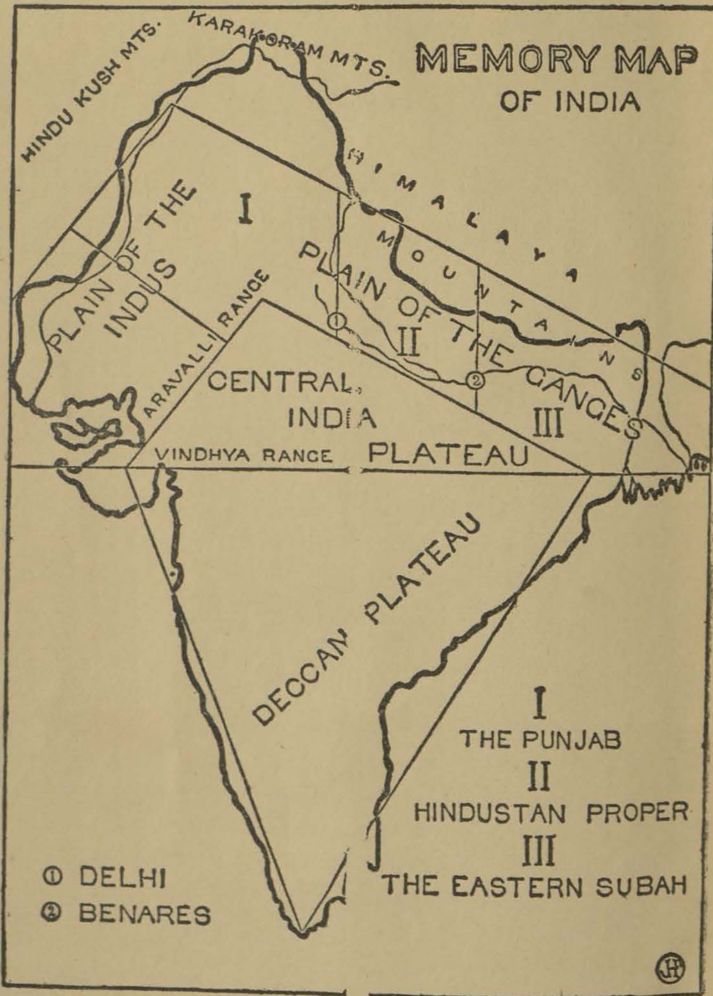
A HISTORY OF INDIA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

J. H. GENSE, S.J.

A HISTORY OF INDIA



MEMORY MAP
OF INDIA
HINDU KUSH MTS.
KARAKORAM MTS.
HIMALAYA
MOUNTAINS
I
PLAIN OF THE INDUS
PLAIN OF THE GANGES
II
III
ARAVALLI RANGE
CENTRAL INDIA PLATEAU
VINDHYA RANGE
DECCAN PLATEAU
I
THE PUNJAB
II
HINDUSTAN PROPER
III
THE EASTERN SUBAH
① DELHI
② BENARES

A HISTORY OF INDIA

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BY

JAMES H. GENSE, S.J.

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PREFACE

IT has been the author's aim to write a continuous narrative of the events connected with Indian History from the earliest times to the present day; and taking into consideration the history programme in the Bombay High Schools, the book covers a four years' course, which may, however, be contracted into a shorter space in order to suit the conveniences of other places.

The first year covers that period which extends from the earliest times to Babar's invasion of India in 1525. The following two years deal with the Moghul, Maratha, and British Periods, together with a short note on Indian Administration. The author is of opinion that during the second year the Moghul and Maratha Periods should be disposed of; and the British Period together with Indian Administration, during the third year; so that the fourth year may be a general repetition of the whole course.

The author has followed a plan which was gradually suggested to him whilst he was teaching in the classroom. The Moghul, Maratha, and British Periods, are not independent of one another, yet for the sake of clearness each period is treated separately, and comprises all the events connected with it.

This way of proceeding naturally entails a certain amount of repetition, but it has the great advantage of method and clearness.

J. H. G., S.J.

ST. XAVIER'S HIGH SCHOOL,
BOMBAY, *December* 1926.

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A LIST OF WORKS TO WHICH REFERENCES APPEAR IN THIS BOOK

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L. Griffin : *Ranjit Singh.*
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W. H. Hutton : *The Marquis of Wellesley.*
H. G. Keene : *Madhava Rao Sindhia.*
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BOOK I

THE HINDU PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

No. 1.—INDIA

I. MEMORY MAP

IF we travel from Cape Comorin, the extreme Southern point of the Indian Peninsula, due north, right across the Indian Continent, we traverse various tracts of land with distinctive characteristic features ; we come across a region of table-lands, a region of plains, and a region of mountains.

1. Table-Lands. The region of table-lands comprises the Deccan and the table-land of Central India.

The Deccan. The Deccan has the shape of a triangle, with its apex looking south. Its base is formed by the Vindhya Range and by the southern slopes of its hilly eastern extensions. Its two sides are bounded by the Western and by the Eastern Ghats, which are respectively washed by the Arabian Sea and by the Bay of Bengal.

Central India. The table-land of Central India is also roughly shaped like a triangle, added to the Deccan. Its north-western side is formed by the Aravalli Mountains ; its northern side by the edge of the plain of the Ganges.

2. **Plains.** The region of plains comprises the basins of the Indus and of the Ganges. The plain of the Indus is west of the Aravalli Hills, that of the Ganges is north of the Central Indian Plateau.

3. **Mountains.** Finally, to the west of the plain of the Indus stretches the hilly country of Afghanistan, and to the north of the plain of the Ganges are the Hindu Kush, the Karakoram Range, and the Himalayas. These mountains are the western and northern boundaries of India.

N.B.—The region of the plains is of the greatest interest from a geographical point of view, because all central and southern India was probably once upon a time separated from the hilly country of Afghanistan and the great wall of the Himalayas by the shallow sea.[1] But this sea has long since disappeared; and in its stead the alluvial plains of the Indus and of the Ganges, which are amongst the most fertile portions of the Indian mainland, have gradually risen above the sea level.

The Vindhya line is of the greatest interest from a historical point of view, for it divides India into two parts. The northern part comprises the Punjab (between the Indus and the Jumna), Hindustan Proper (between Delhi and Benares), and the territories which the ancient Indian historians used to call the Eastern Subah, *viz.* Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. The southern part, which the Aryans called Dakshina, is the Deccan of English historians. This division of the land into Northern and Southern India is of great importance, because most of the events connected with Ancient or Early Indian history took place north of the Vindhya Range.

[1] Johnston, 15.

II. NATURAL DEFENCES

India's boundaries are nature's own formidable bulwark to protect the country against foreign invasion.

1. Southern Defences. The Deccan is protected by the Arabian Sea on the one side and by the Bay of Bengal on the other ; and for many centuries the broad expanse of the ocean proved an effective barrier against foreign invaders.

2. Western Defences. On the west, India is protected by the barren and mountainous regions of Afghanistan. To the east of Afghanistan, but in the land of India, all along the western frontier, from north to south, flows the Indus ; which thus serves the purpose of a second line of defence. Further eastward still stretches the Indian Desert between the valley of the Indus and the Aravalli Mountains, presenting a waterless void, which extends from the Rann of Cutch in a north-easterly direction for a length of about 400 miles with a breadth of 150 miles. Thus the way from the west, especially from the south-west, is barred by a triple line of formidable obstacles.

3. Eastern Defences. On the east, India is as carefully shielded as on the west by a series of extensive mountain ranges running from north to south all along the eastern boundaries.

4. Northern Defences. The northern gates of India are closed against invaders by an extensive system of mountains of such great height that they have rightly been called the great snowy walls.

First of all there are the Himalayas, forming a double range of enormous masses of hills piled upon hills in silent majesty, and covering an area about 1,500 miles long, and from 250 to 300 miles broad. They are the

loftiest mountains in the world; and their snow-capped peaks, Mount Everest, Kinchinjunga, and a host of others, stand like solitary sentinels keeping watch over the snowy borderland that lies to the north of the plains of the Ganges. To make the approaches of India across the Himalayan Range still more impossible, the vast length of the Himalayan Mountains is backed by the desert plateau of Tibet, as formidable a barrier as the huge massive mountains themselves.

Towards the western extension of the Himalayas rises the Karakoram Range with Mount Godwin Austen, second only in altitude to Mount Everest among the highest mountain peaks in the world. Further westward still extends the Hindu Kush forming a single ridge of high elevation.

III. INADEQUATE PROTECTION

The semi-circle, which shields India on the west, north, and east with apparently impassable barriers, has as a matter of fact proved an inefficient barrier against foreign invasions. By a strange freak of nature there are a few places where the mountains are of comparatively low altitude. These places are called passes; and among the passes the most famous are the Barogil and the Dorah on the Hindu Kush, and the Khyber in Afghanistan.

In course of time foreign invaders did not fail to discover these gateways into India; and in successive waves they passed over the Hindu Kush and through the Khyber, and swooped down upon the fair land of India.

IV. THE DELHI GATEWAY

The geographical divisions that have been indicated make it plain that Delhi occupied a position of great

strategic importance ; it was the gateway that led into Hindustan Proper. This explains why Delhi and its surrounding plains have time after time been the scene of gigantic battles ; for it was there that the sons of the soil made their final attempt to safeguard the land of Hindustan from the devastating hordes that came to rob, burn, plunder, and kill.

No. 2.—THE SOURCES OF HISTORY

The History of India may be divided into three parts : (1) There is first of all the prehistoric period beginning from the earliest times and extending to the year 600 B.C. It may rightly be called Ancient Indian History, and comprises a number of events of which the succession in order of time cannot be determined. (2) With the year 600 B.C. opens a period of Early Indian History. Its characteristic feature is that the events connected with it are arranged in order of time, and though the dates assigned to the events are not absolutely correct, they are approximately so. (3) Finally the year 326 B.C. marks the beginning of Actual Indian History, for it is the year of Alexander's invasion, the earliest date that is absolutely certain.

The question, therefore, which naturally presents itself is : whence do we derive our knowledge of the various events connected with Ancient and Early Indian History ? This knowledge is derived from books and from inscriptions.

I. BOOKS

1. The Vedas. Among the books of Ancient India the Vedas are the most important. The word Veda comes from the root *vid*, which means *to know* ; the Vedas are, therefore, books of wisdom.

The Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda is the most important of the four collections of books of wisdom of Ancient India. Its essential and fundamental part is a *Samhita*, or collection of 1028 hymns addressed to various Indian deities. The hymns are of different authorship, and, according to the generally accepted view, the oldest of them date back to 1500 B.C. We may, therefore, say with Dutt that the Rig-Veda was composed during the Vedic period, which is generally believed to have extended from 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.[1] But it is not likely that the collection of hymns was completed by that time.

Three other Vedas. Besides the Rig-Veda there are three other Vedas : the Sama Veda, the Yajur Veda, and the Atharva Veda.

The Sama Veda was meant to serve as a text-book for the priests who attended the Soma Sacrifice, and contains a detailed account of the rites connected with this function.

The Yajur Veda was also written for practical purposes, but did not confine itself to the Soma Sacrifice; it comprised the whole sacrificial rite in its entirety.

The Atharva Veda differs widely from the other Vedas, and is of much later date. It is made up of verses, spells, and incantations meant to bring down either a blessing or a curse. It contains charms against every kind of evil that may threaten man : against enemies, demons, and wizards ; against harmful animals like snakes ; against sickness and disease. Other charms contained in it are supposed to obtain benefits, to ensure love and a happy family life, health, longevity, and protection on journeys, and even luck in gambling.[2]

2. The Brahmanas, the Upanishads, and the Sutras.

[1] Dutt, i. 6. [2] *Cath. Enc.*, xv. 318-19.

The Brahmanas and the Upanishads formed a secondary literature that gradually grew up round each of the Vedas.

The Brahmanas were chiefly intended to serve as explanations of the hymns, and may therefore be looked upon as a kind of commentary on the Samhita. On the contrary the Upanishads differ considerably from the Vedas ; for they are philosophical treatises, and their connection with the Samhita is less apparent. The Sutras are treatises dealing with the Vedic ritual and with the customary law. They are famous for their conciseness, and can hardly be understood without the help of authoritative commentaries. They are generally regarded as a part of the Veda.

3. The Puranas. The Puranas are eighteen in number. They were intended, and are still used for the instruction of the unlettered classes. They are voluminous treatises embracing almost every possible subject : mythology, history, philosophy, and sacred law. One of the oldest of them was probably finally edited in 400 A.D. Much of the information which they contain about prehistoric India is of doubtful value.

4. **The Laws of Manu.** Finally mention must be made of the Laws of Manu, which were probably compiled, in their present form, at some period after 500 B.C. They contain an enormous mass of rules, laws, customs and rites which the Brahman student had to know by heart. They are important because though they are of a later date, they are believed faithfully to represent the traditions of the remote Vedic times

5. The Great Indian Epics. Besides the above-mentioned books there are others of a less sacred character. As they are long poems, or rather masses of verses, and deal with warlike exploits, they are generally

called the Great Indian Epics. The Mahabharata records the struggle for supremacy between rival tribes. The narrative of the struggle is prodigiously long; for the only full English translation which exists, runs into 7,500 pages of small type. The Ramayana narrates the exploits of King Rama; it contains seven books of about 24,000 slokas or 48,000 lines.

6. **Foreign Literature.** Chinese travellers have also left writings behind them, which throw much light on Early Indian History. Many Chinese Buddhist pilgrims visited India, which they looked upon as their Holy Land, and left detailed records of what they had seen on their long journeys. Nor should it be forgotten that the statements made in the native literature of India are not unfrequently corroborated and supplemented by the Greek historical authors.

II. INSCRIPTIONS

By inscriptions is here meant whatever written information has been in past ages incised either on stone or on metal. Among these inscriptions the most valuable are those found on coins, on copper plates and on monuments. From them we learn the names of ruling monarchs, the occurrences of public events, or the transaction of private business. Each inscription in itself does not tell us much; but when there are many of them, it so happens that the one at times explains the other, and in this way valuable information may be gathered.

CHAPTER II

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

(TO 600 B.C.)

No. 1.—THE DRAVIDIANS

1. Place of Origin. The Dravidians had their home in the Indian Peninsula, and here they were well protected on the north by the broad belts of hills and forests of the Satpura and Vindhya ranges.[1] Their origin is to a large extent shrouded in mystery, so that it cannot be ascertained with certainty from where they came. Some historians owing to the difficulty in tracing their travels, are of opinion that the Dravidians are aboriginals, which means the first or the primitive inhabitants of Southern India. But there are others who hold that they were immigrants, though it is impossible from the present data at our disposal to state whence they originally came.

2. State of Civilisation. The Dravidians were not utter barbarians. There was such a thing as a distinct Dravidian Civilisation; for it would appear that there were a number of wealthy Dravidian cities, and that the people were not ignorant of refinements and luxuries for which uncivilised barbarians have no use.

Moreover, the country which they inhabited comprised not only that part of Southern India occupied nowadays by the Tamil speaking population, but also

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 14.

the Kanarese and the Malayalam, the Tulu and the Telugu speaking countries; and, in addition, maintained close communication with Ceylon. The land of the Dravidians was, therefore, of considerable extent; nor was it lacking in resources. It was rich in gold and pearls, in pepper and spices; and even in those remote days the Telugu country was famous for its choice cotton goods.[1] The Dravidians were of a lower intellectual status than the Aryans, but vastly superior to the Dasyus. Moreover, they succeeded in preserving their nationality pure and unmixed; and even nowadays the Dravidian type is easily recognisable, and characterises many of the inhabitants of Southern India.

3. Religion. The Dravidians practised a form of demon-worship.

SUMMARY

I. Place of Origin

Doubtful; either immigrants or aboriginals; they dwelt in Southern India.

II. Civilisation

Cities, extensive country, gold, spices, cotton goods.

III. Religion

Demon-worship.

N.B.—Brahuis and Mundas. Both are among the most ancient peoples that have lived in India, and their importance is mainly due to their connexion with the Dravidian race. As a matter of fact, the whole Dravidian problem can only be solved by accounting for the presence of the Brahuis in Baluchistan, and for that of the Mundari peoples in and around Chota Nagpur.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 15.

A. The Brahuis. There are about 50,000 of them, and they speak a Dravidian language, though the Dravidian elements in their speech are rapidly disappearing under the influence of neighbouring dialects. They may be the remnants of Dravidian immigrants entering India from the north-west; in which case the Dravidians are not aboriginals. But it is also possible that they are the advance guard of an emigration movement which was abandoned soon after it had begun; in which case the Dravidians are aboriginals.

B. The Mundari Peoples. The speakers of the Munda languages number over 3,000,000. Their speech was at first believed to be Dravidian, but Max Müller proved the contrary.[1] It would appear that their speech belongs to a widespread family spoken in the islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. Therefore some are of opinion that the Mundas are immigrants from the east; but others hold that, in spite of the difference between the respective languages, the Mundas are of Dravidian stock, and may rightly claim to be aboriginals. It is also stated that among them the Santals are the best representatives of the pure primitive Dravidian type.[2]

No. 2—THE DASYUS

1. Place of Origin. The whole valley of the Ganges and in fact the whole country, contained between the Vindhya Range and the Himalaya mountains, was occupied by a people called the Dasyus.

2. State of Civilisation. It is from the Aryans that we derive our knowledge of the aboriginals of the north. The Aryans gloried in the fairness of their complexion,

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer*, i. 382. [2] Rangaswami, 9.

and proudly called themselves "the white-complexioned friends of Indra." By way of contrast the Dasyus are alluded to as "the enemy who is flayed of his black skin," "those, reddish in appearance, who utter fearful yells," and "born to be cut in twain." We read in one of the Vedic hymns that "They (the Dasyus) are not men, they do not perform sacrifices, they do not believe in anything. O Destroyer of foes, kill them!"[1] But the Dasyus were not without the rudiments of civilisation. Thus, for example they had leaders, erected fortified strongholds, built towns, and possessed treasures of gold and jewels.

3. **Religion.** Their religious practices were of a primitive kind; for it is generally admitted that they were worshippers of trees and serpents. Their descendants are still found in the mountain ranges that bound the great northern plain.[2]

No. 3.—THE ARYANS

Plan

1. The Aryan Invasion.
2. The Early Aryans.
3. Further Developments.
4. Subsequent Fate.
5. The Caste System.

I. THE ARYAN INVASION

The Aryans were the first invaders of India. They came originally from the highlands of Central Asia, the lofty table-land of Pamir. They were peaceful farmers; the word "Aryan" meaning "*tiller of the earth.*"

1. **The Punjab.** In the hymns of the Rig-Veda the names of about twenty-five rivers are mentioned; and these many rivers all belong to the system of the Indus.

[1] Steel, 3. [2] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 379.

They include the five great eastern branches of the Indus, and a number of its north-western tributaries. We may therefore conclude that the earliest Aryan invaders made their home partly to the west and partly to the east of the Indus.

2. Hindustan Proper. As years went on, the descendants of the first immigrants, probably increased by fresh arrivals, travelled gradually eastwards, and occupied the basins of the Jumna and the Ganges, or Hindustan Proper. This further advance in the occupation of India is partly indicated by the Yajur Veda. It mentions the famous land of Kuru-Kshetra and of Panchala. Kuru-Kshetra was situated on the western side of the Jumna; and Panchala was the country contained between the Jumna and the Ganges.

3. The Vindhya Range Line. In course of time the Aryans spread both southwards and eastwards, conquered the whole country lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhya Range, and reduced the Dasyus to slavery.

This fresh advance is mentioned in the Laws of Manu. According to the Laws of Manu the wide territories contained between the Himalayas and the Vindhya Range are called Aryavarta, or the country of the Aryans. In the land of Aryavarta there was one spot, or rather province, that was privileged above all the others. This was Brahmavarta, the Holy Land, situated due north of modern Delhi and to the south of the upper course of the Sutlej, between the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati. It was in this region that the Rig-Veda is believed to have been completed. There is a couplet in the Mahabharata to the following effect: "Those who dwell in Kuru-Kshetra to the south of the Sarasvati and the north of the Drishadvati dwell in Heaven!"

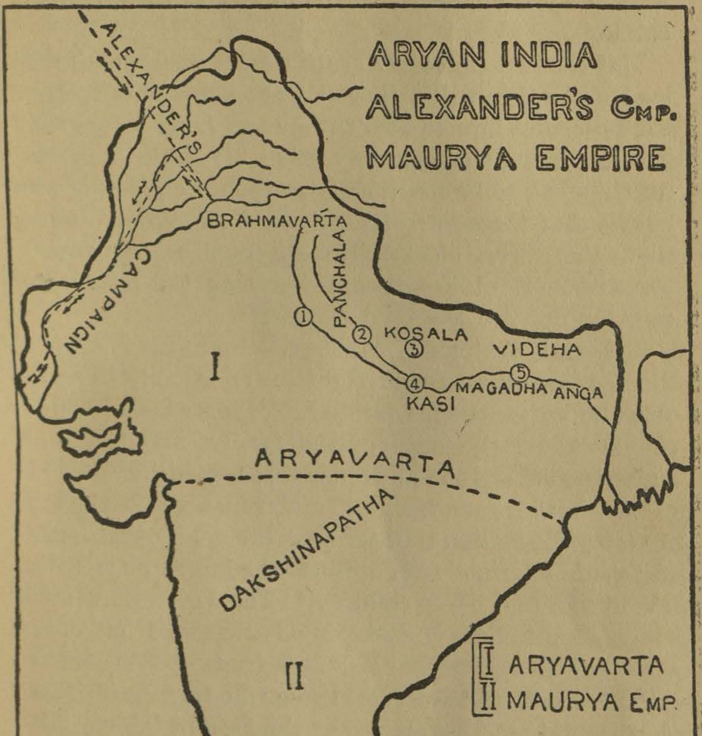
4. Aryan Penetration of the Deccan. The last stage in the Aryan conquest was a movement southwards. To the south lay the country which they called Dakshina, of which the English word Deccan is said to be a corruption. The Aryan penetration of the Deccan was chiefly confined to the spread of Aryan ideas and institutions among the Dravidians of the south. But this peaceful penetration of the south does not belong to the Vedic Period; it took place many centuries afterwards.

II. THE EARLY ARYANS

1. Racial Superiority. In comparison with the Dasyus and the Dravidians, the Aryans belonged to a higher intellectual status. They were moreover a fair-complexioned people, so that their intellectual superiority and their prepossessing physical appearance naturally marked them out as a race of conquerors. For it must be borne in mind that they were strong, broad-chested men, hardened by the rigours of open-air life.

2. Occupational Pursuits. They were a race of farmers. This is made evident for us by the Vedic hymns, in which frequent mention is made of oxen, the cultivation of corn, ploughing, sowing, and reaping.[1] Thus one of their hymns reads: "We will cultivate this field with the Lord of the field; may he nourish our cattle and our horses; and may he bless us thereby. Let the oxen work merrily; let the men work merrily, let the plough move on merrily. Fasten the traces merrily, ply the goad merrily."[2] From this we may easily gather that their chief industrial pursuits were closely connected with agriculture. They counted their

[1] Steel, 6. [2] Dutt, i. 35.


ARYAN INDIA
ALEXANDER'S CMP.
MAURYA EMPIRE
ALEXANDER'S
CAMPAIGN
BRAHMAVARTA
PANCHALA
KOSALA
VIDEHA
KASI
MAGADHA
ANGA
I
ARYAVARTA
DAKSHINAPATHA
II
MAURYA EMP.
I ARYAVARTA
II MAURYA EMP.
① MATHURA
② KANYAKUBJA
③ AJODHYA
④ PRAYAGA
⑤ PATALIPUTRA

wealth by their fields, their crops, and their herds of cattle. not by money

But the fact that the Aryans were farmers should not lead us to think that they did not know how to bend the bow, and how to hurl the spear. Long before they entered India, they had become highly skilled hunters; for they had to be continually on the watch for the wild beasts that threatened their flocks.[1] Moreover, among them there were blacksmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, barbers, and other artisans. Among the latter the weavers deserve a special mention.[2]

3. **Social Customs.** Among the primitive Aryans social life centred round the family. Family life was organised after the patriarchal rule, according to which the father is the head of the family, and exercises supreme authority in all things that regard the family's welfare both from a temporal and from a spiritual point of view. He lighted the sacrificial fire in his own hearth, and made offerings to propitiate the bright gods in his favour and that of his children.[3] The Aryan household lived simple lives; their food consisted of milk, wheaten cakes, vegetables, and fruits. When they sacrificed animals, however, those who took part in the sacrifice did not hesitate to eat the flesh of the victims. Moreover, they were fond of strong drinks, and especially loved the Soma juice. Finally, they indulged in all kinds of amusements such as dancing, singing, racing and gambling.[4]

4. **Religious Beliefs.** When the Aryans invaded India, they had no temples; neither did they worship idols. They knew nothing of caste and forced widowhood, and no evidence of sati or child-marriage exists on

[1] Havell, *S.H. of I.*, 3.
[2] Dutt, i. 28.
[3] Dutt, i. 5.
[4] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 23.

the slightest authority.[1] Their religious practices were almost entirely made up of nature worship. They addressed their prayers to the great phenomena of nature, which they conceived as living beings.[2]

Thus, for example, they worshipped the sky that shines, or Dyu; the sky that rains, or Indra; the mighty sky, or Varuna. Another important deity was Agni, which had three forms: the sun in the heavens, the lightning, and the terrestrial fire. They also addressed their prayers to Soma. This was originally an intoxicating drink palatable not only to the mortals but also to the gods. It was at first used as a sacrificial offering, but in course of time it took its place among the deities, and became identified with the moon. It was likewise the common practice of the Aryans to deify the rivers and the mountains, the winds and the stars.

Furthermore, these deities were looked upon as "bright gods" that were anxious to come to man's assistance, and never dreamt of inflicting harm upon human beings. But in order that man might secure for himself their favour, he had to propitiate them. Accordingly, the Aryans made offerings of milk, grain, ghee, flesh, and soma.

III. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

1. **Growth of Warlike Activities.** The land which the Aryans invaded was inhabited by a race of aboriginals, the Dasyus, who were not at all anxious to be dispossessed of their lands. Accordingly, the invaders had to fight their way inwards, thus developing warlike dispositions. From farmers they became warriors. The natural result was that a considerable advance was

[1] Steel, 9. [2] Wheeler, *C.H. of I.*, 1, 103.

made in the manufacture of arms and weapons of various kinds. Already in the Rig-Veda we are told of armours, of golden helmets, and of armours for the shoulders and for the arms, probably a shield. They fought with feathered, sharp-pointed, shining shafts, with sharp-edged swords, and even made use of war-chariots.[1] Thus it came about that the Aryans beat their ploughshares into swords.

2. Formation of Kingdoms. Originally the social organisation of the Aryans centred round the family, the village, and the tribal unit.

Step by step the village community developed a characteristic form of organisation. The owners of houses or the Aryan freemen, met yearly in a general assembly to elect the village council, consisting of five members.[2] Those who were thus elected to watch over the interests of several family groups used to meet under the council-tree, the Bodhi-tree, or tree of wisdom, under the shade of which the village affairs were discussed.

Village organisation was followed by tribal organisation. For the sake of protection the villages combined in ever growing numbers, so that the chieftain who was at the head of the confederation wielded an authority which extended over a group of ten, twenty, a hundred, or even a thousand villages.[3] This chieftain was made responsible for the security of each village; and, in return for the protection thus afforded, he was supplied by each village with a number of fighting men, or with cattle, or produce. Thus the importance of the tribal chieftain little by little increased, till at last, after exercising all the prerogatives of royalty, he assumed the royal title, became king, and ruled with the assist-

[1] Dutt, i. 46. [2] Havell, *H.A.R.*, 24, 26. [3] *Ibid.*

ance of a council of ministers. In this way various kingdoms came into existence; and among these kingdoms we may specially mention Panchala, Kosala, Videha, Magadha, Kasi, and Anga.

3. **Religious Changes.** Although the religious practices of the primitive Aryans were different from those of modern Hinduism, already in the Vedic Age the Hindu belief began little by little to spread.

First of all there is little doubt that the religious practices of the non-Aryan inhabitants of India affected the religious belief of the Aryans. This seems specially to be the case with the Snake worship, common among the primitive peoples of India, and of which the first traces are met with in the Yajur-Veda. The presumption therefore is that the Aryans borrowed it from the non-Aryan peoples. Similarly the introduction of dreadful deities by the side of the bright gods of the Aryans may probably be accounted for by the religious influence of non-Aryan belief; for the worshipping of such deities is much more common with barbarians than with civilised races.

Finally, the change was to a large extent the work of the priestly order. In course of time the father of the family ceased to exercise his priestly functions, giving place to a group of men solely engaged in priestly occupations. These were the Brahmans, who gradually changed the simple form of early Aryan worship into an intricate sacrificial system. As the number of sacrifices increased, so did the purposes for which they were offered; and as the blessings and curses which these sacrifices were meant to effect became more numerous, so the deities who bestowed the blessings, or brought down the curses, likewise became more numerous. Thus it came about that an ever increasing number of deities

found a place in the Hindu pantheon. It was in their honour that figures were carved out of stone, and that temples were built, and in this way Hinduism, the cult of idols, and the erection of temples took the place of early Aryan nature worship.

IV. SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE ARYANS

1. Inter-tribal Contests. The inter-tribal contests are recorded in the Mahabharata; they belong to a period to which it is difficult to assign a probable date.

The Mahabharata recounts the contest for supremacy, which ended in the triumph of the Pandavas and in the formation of a great confederation with Indraprastha for its capital. The main plot runs as follows: the five sons of King Pandu, the Kshatriya brothers, also called the Pandavas, allowed themselves to be tricked out of their royal rights by their cousins, the hundred Kauravas, the sons of Dhritarashtra, Pandu's brother. But in the end Pandava chivalry and religious principles triumphed over Kaurava unscrupulousness and craft.[1]

2. Warlike Operations in the South. The Ramayana records the passing of the Aryans beyond the Vindhya Mountains. Their leader, Rama, on returning from a hunting expedition, found that his wife, Sita, had been abducted by the King of Ceylon. Thereupon he appealed to his Aryan followers, and at their head crossed the straits which separate Ceylon from the mainland, stormed and captured his enemy's fortress, rescued Sita, came back in triumph, and was crowned King of Ajodhya.

3. Gradual Decadence. The Aryans themselves openly admitted that their race was little by little falling off from the purity and excellence of the original stock.

[1] Havell, *H.A.R.*, 40.

For, while it was the proud boast of many early Aryans to claim descent from the Solar Race, others were in later times satisfied to belong to the Lunar Race.[1] This corruption of the purity of the Aryan race was partly brought about by their mingling with non-Aryan races. Moreover, the subsequent division of the Aryan commonwealth into rival kingdoms destroyed the bonds of national unity. The ultimate result was that towards 500 B.C. they gradually ceased to exist as a separate nationality. This does not mean that the Aryan civilisation died out; on the contrary it survived, and to a large extent affected the nations of later times.

V. THE CASTE SYSTEM

By way of conclusion we will add a few words on the caste system.

1. In Vedic Times. (*a*) *The Varnas.* It is now universally admitted that the caste system did not exist in Vedic times. The word *Varna*, which occurs in the Rig-Veda, does not indicate that the Aryans were divided into hereditary castes; it rather marks the colour bar that separated the Aryans from the non-Aryans. For Varna originally stood for *colour*: and, when the word was first used to designate certain classes of people, it applied to classes of men divided from each other by the colour of their skin.[2]

(*b*) *Class Distinctions.* Gradually, however, certain distinctions were introduced among the Aryans themselves. At first the father of each joint family exercised the triple functions of priest, farmer, and soldier. But as the Aryan community developed, it became impossible for one and the same individual to preside over the sacrificial rites, to cultivate the fields, and to wage

[1] Fergusson, 11. [2] Dutt, i. 64.

war. Thus occupational divisions were introduced. Accordingly, there were priests, warriors, and husbandmen; or Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. There was also a fourth group of people, called Sudras, who were for the most part common labourers and slaves, and unfit to perform the Aryan ceremonies. Some authors state that the Sudras were Aryans; but it is more likely that they were aboriginals, who had surrendered themselves to their conquerors, and adopted Aryan ways and customs.[1]

These occupational divisions were likewise called *Varnas.* Taking into account that Varna means *colour*, it has been suggested that this name was applied to these divisions because the different classes may have worn garments of various colours.[2] Whatever may be the value of this surmise, one thing seems to be certain: that the occupational classification—the Varnas of the early Aryans—was totally different from the modern caste system.

2. Caste Separations. (*a*) *Gradual Growth.* This grouping according to occupational pursuits seems to have lasted till about 700 B.C. It was about that time that the Varnas developed into Jatis, and class distinctions were superseded by caste separations.

(*b*) *Causes.* Many causes were instrumental in bringing about this gradual transformation of the Varnas into Jatis.

(*c*) *Military Prestige.* During the Vedic Period all Aryans enjoyed the same social standing and civil rights; but this universal brotherhood was gradually replaced by a state of unequal social conditions. First of all, in one respect at least, the occupational divisions ceased to exist. There were Brahmans who did not

[1] Dutt, i. 8. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 36.

hesitate to exchange the study of the Vedas for the sceptre or the sword. They became kings and military leaders,[1] and their example was imitated by others equally anxious to gain military renown. The result was that there arose a number of families whose members prided themselves on their warlike achievements by which, as a natural consequence, they had amassed great wealth. Thus military fame and material advantages caused these families to combine and form a class of higher social standing than the rest of the Aryans.

(*d*) *Priestly Prestige.* By a similar process the Brahmans gradually secured for themselves a paramount influence in the Aryan commonwealth. They succeeded in making the sacrificial rites more and more complicated; so that a special ability and a long and technical preparation became necessary for those who presided over the sacrificial ceremonies. Thus a priestly class gradually arose, the members of which were closely united, and which presented a united front to all those who had nought to do with priestly functions.

(*e*) *Mixture with non-Aryans.* Other social inequalities were brought about by the more or less acknowledged mixture that took place between Aryans and non-Aryans. Marriage alliances between Aryans and aboriginals may have been very rare indeed. But it must not be forgotten that in course of time the Aryans were brought into contact with other foreign invaders. About the latter, we cannot but remark that Hinduism seems to have possessed a wonderful assimilative power; for many of these foreigners who came to conquer were themselves conquered and hinduised.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 173.

The most important among these hinduised foreigners found it easy enough in course of time to make marriage alliances with Aryans, and thus further diversified the social status among the members of the Aryan community.

(*f*) *Marriage Alliances among Aryans.* After the military and priestly families had secured for themselves a great prestige, further divisions may have taken place by marriage alliances between warriors and priests or between these families and the Vaisyas.

Conclusion. We may therefore conclude that military and priestly prestige, together with the mixture of Aryans with non-Aryans, and the marriage alliances between various families, greatly contributed to the breaking up of the Aryan nation into a number of groups of different social status.

3. Characteristic Features of Social Inequality. In many respects these characteristic features were those that marked the dealings of the Aryans with the aboriginals. They considered the aboriginals unfit to perform the Aryan ceremonies, shunned all intercourse with them as a defilement, and did not even think of arranging marriage alliances with them. They likewise refused to break bread with them, and they even looked down upon the menial professions that fell to their lot. We may therefore say that Aryan contempt for the aboriginals was based on their regard for purity, both of food and blood, and the high esteem in which they held occupational pursuits.

This esteem was deeply ingrained in the Aryan character; and the result was that, when social inequalities crept into the Aryan commonwealth, the various groups that were formed claimed, each one of them for its own members, purity of food and of blood

and a certain profession. Thus it comes about that a caste may be defined as a group of families following the same profession, and internally ruled by laws, peculiar to itself, for the observance of ceremonial purity, especially in matters of diet and marriage.

Conclusion. The caste system therefore is not a total innovation upon, or a radical change from, the Aryan customs prevalent during the Vedic Period. It is rather the normal prolongation of the ancient Aryan institutions as remodelled by the changes into which these institutions were involved by the new conditions and surroundings which the Aryan community had to face in its conquest and occupation of India.[1]

SUMMARY

I. Aryan Invasion

The Punjab, Hindustan Proper, the Vindhya Range, the Deccan.

II. Early Aryans

1. Racial supremacy.
2. Pursuits: farmers, huntsmen, smiths, barbers, weavers.
3. Social customs: the father was priest, farmer, and warrior; villages and tribes.
4. Religious beliefs: temples, idols, castes; forced widowhood and sati unknown; nature worship.

III. Further Developments

Warlike activities, formation of; kingdoms, Hinduism.

IV. Subsequent Fate

Inter-tribal contests, warlike operations in the south, and gradual decadence.

V. The Caste System

1. In Vedic times: Varna, the colour bar; class distinctions based on pursuits.
2. Growth: Social inequalities: military and priestly families, mixture with non-Aryans, marriage alliances.
3. Features of social inequalities: purity of blood, purity of food, certain pursuits.
4. Result: families united by the same profession and by rules in matters of diet and marriage.

[1] Hegglin, *The Castes in India.*

N.B.—The Mahabharata. **1. Outline of the Epic.** The epic narrates the struggle between the five sons of Pandu, called Pandavas, and the hundred sons of Dritirashtra, called Kauravas after their great-grandfather Kuru. Pandu and Dritirashtra were brothers, and the struggle was a family feud between cousins of rival royal houses.

Before the feud began, Dritirashtra reigned in Hastinapura. But as he was blind, he was deemed unfit to rule, and was merely tolerated, because his brother Pandu had retired to the forest to pass the remainder of his life in hunting. It was however understood that Dritirashtra was to be succeeded on the throne not by one of his own sons, but by one of Pandu's sons.

Thereupon the Kauravas tried every means to deprive their cousins of the succession. Their intrigues were successful, till the Pandavas at last met them on the plain of Kurukshetra. For eighteen days the battle is said to have raged, and it only ended when the last of the Kauravas had been slain.

2. Its Significance. Many of the personages mentioned in the epic are fictitious rather than real; but from an historical point of view the epic supplies us with valuable information.

First of all the Mahabharata testifies to the gradual break up of the Aryan Commonwealth into a number of kingdoms, which were at war with one another. There is also ample proof of the growth of the caste system.[1] Religious changes are likewise clearly indicated. To the nature-worship of the early Aryans has been added the belief in a number of gods; a series of heroic men and women are raised high above the common run of men to serve in later times as models to be imitated, and as

[1] Baumgartner, 25.

semi-gods to be prayed to. Furthermore Brahmanic influence makes itself felt by the importance given to Yoga or asceticism and to the use of Mantras as a means to coerce the gods.[1]

But it is almost impossible to assign any reliable date to the social and religious development described in the Mahabharata; for the great epic is the creation of various epochs and different minds. For though some would have us believe that the great struggle took place as early as 3000 B.C., the Mahabharata as a literary composition may be roughly placed between 400 B.C. and 200 A.D. It is therefore impossible to state that the social and religious conditions, depicted in the epic, belong to a definite age.[2]

QUESTIONS

1. Point out the different steps of the Aryan invasion and conquest of India (I. 1-4).
2. Give a brief account of the Early Aryans. Show their social superiority, and indicate their occupational pursuits, and their social customs (II. 1-3).
3. What was the religious belief of the Aryans? (II. 4).
4. Show the gradual development of warlike activities among the Aryans (III. 1; IV. 1-2).
5. Account for the formation of the first Aryan kingdoms, and mention the most important of them (III. 2).
6. What do you know of the subsequent fate of the Aryans? (IV. 1-3).
7. What divisions existed in the Vedic Period? or: What is meant by the word Varna of the Vedic Period? (V. 1).
8. What causes brought about social inequalities among the Aryans? (V. 2).
9. Point out the characteristic feature of these social inequalities (V. 3).
10. Show that the Caste System was not an innovation, but a prolongation of the ancient Aryan institutions (V. 3).

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer*, i. 418. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 33.

CHAPTER III

THE THRESHOLD OF ACTUAL HISTORY

(600 B.C.—326 B.C.)

WITH the advent of the year 600 B.C., we stand on the threshold of actual history; for it is the beginning of that period of history of which the events have been arranged in serial order, so that probable dates may be assigned to the most important occurrences.

Plan

1. Political Conditions.
2. Social Conditions.
3. Kshatriya Ascetic Orders.
4. Ruling Dynasties.
5. Prominent Men.
6. The Persian Invasion.

No. 1—POLITICAL CONDITIONS

1. Sources of Information. The Jatakas are stories of a legendary character which relate the 550 existences through which Buddha is supposed to have passed before his final existence. They are of a later date than 600 B.C.; and the conditions described in them were those prevalent in north-eastern rather than north-western India. But in spite of these drawbacks, they are generally considered to contain information approaching nearest to the truth.

2. Ruling Classes. According to the Vedic caste theory, the Kshatriyas are warriors; but according to the Jatakas they are the representatives of political power, stand for the community which is above family and caste, and symbolise the State.[1] Their exceptional position is evidenced by the fact that in the Jatakas the Kshatriyas are always mentioned first among the great castes.[2]

[1] Maitra, 81. [2] *Ibid.* 84.

3. Form of Government: *The King.* The members of the ruling class were kings, however they did not rule over countries, but rather over peoples,[1] for the king is the head of men.[2]

In times of war it was the chief duty of the king to protect his subjects and their property from hostile attacks. In times of peace the king administered justice. In the words of the Jataka: "He gives decisions in law-suits"; he also pronounces the sentence: "Go and impale him."[3] To defray his expenses the king relied on the presents made to him by his subjects; but in course of time he began to levy taxes. He did not make cash demands, but received payments in kind. Thus, for example, we read in the Jatakas of the farmer who said: "From this field I must give the king his portion."[4]

Finally, the kingship was hereditary. However, if it happened that the king's son proved himself unworthy of being vested with the sovereign power, a new king was chosen. The Jatakas tell us that in one case: "The ministers concluded that Prince Pandajali was a fool, and they made the Bodhisatta (Buddha in one of his former existences) king.[5]

The King's Officers: Ministers. The ministers were the king's advisers. Their power and influence varied, and were largely determined by circumstances; one of the most telling circumstances was the ruler's personality. With an energetic ruler the ministers were figure-heads; with a weak king the ministers were the real rulers of the realm.[6]

The guide of the king in worldly and spiritual matters seems to have occupied the place of the prime minister in a modern state.[7]

The ruler of the army held the highest military post

[1] Rangaswani, i. 56. [2] Maitra, 97. [3] *Ibid.* 106, 107. [4] *Ibid.* 116.
[5] Maitra, 130. [6] *Ibid.* 140. [7] *Ibid.* 145.

in the army after the king ; and it would seem that in times of peace he was entrusted with the administration of justice.[1]

The rope-holding minister was the king's surveyor, and measured the lands of his subjects, in order to determine the amount of produce they had to pay by way of taxes.[2]

The produce-measurer measured the produce of the land given by the cultivators as the king's portion.[3]

Other lesser officials were : the king's chariot-driver, the keeper of the purse, the doorkeeper of the palace, the gatekeeper of the royal fortress-town, and the executioner.[4]

The King and his officers resided in the royal city, which was in many a case the only city worth mentioning in the state. For the overwhelming majority of the people were villagers, and the old Hindu kingdoms may perhaps be best described as a number of villages under the leadership of the ruler of the realm.

No. 2—SOCIAL LIFE

1. Sources of Information. As for the political so for the social life our information is almost entirely derived from the Jatakas.

2. Village Life. The distinctive feature of the social life in those far-off days seems to have been the system of self-governed village communities under the administration of a village superintendent. The king's interference limited itself to protecting the villagers in times of war, and to levying taxes in times of peace.

3. The Village Superintendent. He was in later times appointed by the king ; but in earlier times he seems to have been selected by the villagers themselves to

[1] Maitra, 146. [2] *Ibid.* 148. [3] *Ibid.* 154. [4] *Ibid.* 155-159.

whom he was responsible. One Jataka tells us of a village superintendent caught red-handed in crime. He tries to defend himself by crying: "I am the village superintendent"; but he is beaten to a jelly and driven out of the house.[1]

His power and influence were considerable; he administered justice, settled quarrels, inflicted fines, and issued prohibitions.[2]

4. Castes. There is ample proof in the Jatakas that the community is divided into castes. But the Jatakas place the Kshatriyas above the Brahmans, "Even when the Khattiya (Kshatriya) has fallen, he is still the best, and the Brahmans are, in comparison with them, low."[3] Moreover, the Sudras are not always numbered among the four great castes, they are often alluded to as low men who follow low professions.[4]

5. Trades and Professions. The occupations of the people were many and varied. In the Jatakas we read of smiths, ivory-carvers, carpenters, weavers, barbers, butchers, basket-makers, carriage-builders, cobblers, potters, astrologers, and snake-charmers. But the great majority of the people were farmers. Certain of these professions were not taken up by the Aryans, not because they found fault with the handicraft itself, but rather because they found it below their dignity to follow a profession which was originally practised by the aboriginals, when the Aryans settled in the land.

Moreover, the professions were not restricted to definite castes. People who followed the same profession often occupied a special part of the village or town. Thus, for example, ivory-carvers had a street to themselves, so had the carpenters, and others too.[5]

In the Jatakas there are likewise traces of the exis-

[1] Maitra, 161. [2] *Ibid.* 161. [3] *Ibid.* 89.
[4] *Ibid.* 325. [5] *Ibid.* 279.

tence of professional unions, notably among tradesmen and caravan drivers. These were probably the first to organise themselves into a body for the sake of protection against the robbers who infested the highways. But it does not seem likely that guilds properly so called were then in existence.[1]

6. The Cultivators. As it has already been said, the majority of the people, especially those of Aryan stock, were cultivators; and chief among those engaged in land-cultivating and cattle-rearing were the Brahmans.[2] The poor Brahman of the Somadatta Jataka, who ploughs with two oxen, complains that, as one of his oxen is dead, he cannot drive his plough.[3] But many of these Brahman farmers were wealthy landlords, and they had their fields cultivated by day-labourers or by slaves.[4]

No. 3—KSHATRIYA ASCETIC ORDERS

The Vedas, handed down to us by the Brahmans, create the impression that the study of the sacred books and occupation with religious things in general was restricted to the Brahmans. But the Jatakas make it plain that among the ascetics there were men of all classes, and many of them were Kshatriyas.[5]

It was not at all an extraordinary event that an old king abdicated in favour of his son, and retired into the solitude of the forest.[6] Thus there wandered about the country a number of homeless ascetics, many of whom were Kshatriyas.

There is likewise ample proof that the wanderers banded together, and formed a kind of ascetic order. In one of the Jatakas mention is made of a crowd of 500 ascetics. These men were not Brahmans, for the

[1] Maitra, 277. [2] *Ibid.* 241. [3] *Ibid.* 243.
[4] *Ibid.* 243. [5] *Ibid.* 78. [6] *Ibid.* 67.

Brahman priest says to the king: "All these, oh great king, are cheats, they will ruin the whole of India with their hypocrisy."[1]

The life of the Kshatriya ascetic was not a bed of roses. Many of them lived permanently in the woods, and ate the roots and fruits of the forest.[2] Others went out into the open country, and their leader gave them the following advice: "Some of you should behave like a bat (this seems to indicate a special kind of posture); some of you should sit with folded legs and practise penance; some should lie on a bed of thorns; some should practise the penance relating to the five fires; others should plunge into the water; still others should recite verses in different places."[3]

Furthermore, they engaged in discussions with the people, for their teaching was by answering the questions of those who interrogated them; and in this way they must have exercised a considerable amount of local influence.

No. 4—RULING DYNASTIES

A. The Saisunaga Dynasty. The Rulers of the Saisunaga Dynasty, who from 600 B.C. to 371 B.C. presided over the destinies of the kingdom of Magadha, are ten in number. Among these ten potentates Bimbisara and Ajatasatru are the most important.

(*a*) *Bimbisara* (528 B.C.—500 B.C.). He was the fifth king in the line of the Saisunaga Dynasty. He is said to have built New Rajagriha, the modern Rajgir, and to have begun that policy of territorial aggrandisement which ultimately resulted in Magadha's supremacy. He annexed the little kingdom of Anga, and may therefore be rightly regarded as the founder of the Magadha imperial power. Towards 500 B.C. he abdicated in

[1] Maitra, 28. [2] *Ibid.* 22. [3] *Ibid.* 23.

favour of his son Ajatasatru, who shortly afterwards stained his hands with his father's blood.

(*b*) *Ajatasatru* (500 B.C.—475 B.C.). His crime did not secure for Ajatasatru the peaceful possession of the throne. For Bimbisara's queen was a princess of Kosala; and accordingly her brother, the aged king of Kosala, declared war on the murderer. But Ajatasatru defeated Kosala, and emboldened by his success determined to follow his father's policy of conquest and annexation. Accordingly he brought the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Himalayas under the sphere of Magadha influence. To commemorate his victory he built the fortress of Pataliputra, the modern Patna, which was destined to become in course of time the capital not only of Magadha but of India.

(*c*) *The Other Rulers.* Of the four predecessors of Bimbisara and of the four successors of Ajatasatru we know next to nothing. Their names alone have come down to us.

B. The Nanda Dynasty. The last of the Saisunagas, Mahanandin, charged with the same crime of which Ajatasatru was guilty, was dethroned about the year 371 B.C. His deposition was the work of his minister, Mahapadma Nanda, who afterwards usurped the throne, and established the Nanda Dynasty. Such accounts as have come down to us of the Nanda Dynasty are so extraordinary as to be almost incredible. We are told, for instance, that there were but two generations in the Nanda Dynasty, and that the throne was successfully occupied by Mahapadma and his eight sons; yet we are asked to believe that they reigned for 155 years. As a matter of fact the only reliable information about the Nandas is that the last member of the Dynasty was

slain by Chandragupta, of whom we shall have more to say later on.

No. 5—PROMINENT MEN

A. Gautama Buddha. (*a*) *The Man.* One of the most remarkable personages of Early India was Gautama Buddha,[1] the son of a petty Raja in southern Nepal. His family name was Gautama; the honorific title "Buddha," which means "The Enlightened," was in all likelihood bestowed upon him after his death. As a lad and a young man he enjoyed the pleasures of home life, and at the age of nineteen he married. His wife bore him a son.

But in course of time he abandoned his home, betook himself to a forest, and there spent seven years, leading a life of solitude, penance, and prayer. His long meditations led him to believe that he had discovered the only way of escape from the misery of re-birth, and of attaining to Nirvana, or supreme bliss. He then set out to preach his new gospel of deliverance, and was soon followed by many enthusiastic disciples. He started his missionary career at Benares; and, after forty years of unsparing and successful effort, he died in the neighbourhood of Kapilavastu, about the year 487 B.C.

(*b*) *His Teaching.* His teaching was ultimately based on the Vedantic belief in Karma. According to this theory the present life is either the reward of the good actions, or the punishment of the evil deeds of a previous existence. Therefore, man's life is but a link in a chain of endless lives. This teaching is rejected by many, who do not admit that they can possibly be rewarded, or punished for a past life of which they are totally

[1] *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 28.

unconscious. But Buddha believed in Karma; and he therefore set about to find out a means of securing freedom from re-birth.

In order to attain this end a man should concentrate his thoughts on leading a good life by doing good to others; for a wholly unselfish life will gradually pave the way towards the absence of all selfish desires; it will lead man to supreme peace, the bliss of Nirvana. It cannot be denied that Buddha's doctrine of unselfish devotedness rightly deserves to be admired; but at the same time it should not be forgotten that in his efforts to make man unselfish Buddha seems to be strangely forgetful of the Supreme Being, who is the cause of all life, and whom men cannot ignore, since He is their greatest benefactor.

(c) *Subsequent Fate of Buddhism.* It was only after Buddha's death that a well-defined Buddhist creed was drawn up by the First General Council (487 B.C.). Afterwards three other Great Councils were held for the same purpose—that of determining what a true Buddhist should believe (383, 240 B.C.; 120 A.D.). But these attempts failed, and the Buddhist community became divided into many sects. In spite of these differences among its followers, Buddhism had adherents in India for the space of well-nigh seventeen centuries (500 B.C.—1200 A.D.).

Moreover, from its original home Buddhism, in a mitigated form, spread far and wide into Eastern Asia, Tibet and China. With such eagerness was it embraced by the people of those far-off regions that they looked upon India as the Holy Land of Buddhism. Between the years 400 A.D. and 700 A.D. numerous Chinese pilgrims with apparently indefatigable energy trod the long and weary road that led across fertile valleys,

barren deserts, and snow-capped mountains to visit the birthplace of Buddhism. Of these early "globe-trotters" Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang were the most famous; but they were not the only ones, for more than sixty others have left behind valuable records of their toilsome journeys.

In those far-off countries of Eastern Asia, Buddhism continued to flourish after it had gradually died out in India towards the year 1200; and there it still flourishes even nowadays. As regards the land where Buddhism first made its appearance, its inhabitants now no longer follow the Buddhistic teaching, except in the northern and the southern extremities, in Nepal and Ceylon.

B. Vardhamana Mahavira. To secure freedom from re-birth was a problem which appealed not only to Gautama Buddha, but also to many other religious leaders. Among the latter Vardhamana Mahavira, who lived at the same time as Gautama, deserves special mention, because he is the founder of Jainism. The first years of his religious career were spent in the solitude of a monastery. Afterwards he started wandering about the country in quest of learning, so that he might find the path of knowledge. Finally he founded a monastery, in order to teach his followers the way of release from the pangs of re-birth. His followers called themselves the conquerors of self, or Jains, and were the first to practise Jainism.

According to their teaching the constant practice of self-discipline and mortification will ultimately free the soul from the meshes of karma, and raise it to a state of divine perfection. Therefore it is a part of their belief that there is no distinct Supreme Being, but that every man, after he has gone through a purifying process, becomes part of the divinity. A special characteristic

of Jainism is its extraordinary reverence for every form of life, even for the very lowest ; so that it becomes a sin against the divinity that is supposed to be latent in man, to destroy animal life and even plant life.

Jainism has always had many followers : but its severity did not make it popular with the Indian masses.

No. 6.—PERSIAN INVASION

A. The Persians. The Persians who invaded India may rightly be looked upon as foreigners. Yet they were not totally different from the Indians, and had many traits in common with them. For once upon a time the common ancestors of the Indians and the Persians formed an undivided branch of the Indo-European stock.[1] But whilst the ancestors of the Aryans invaded India, their brothers, the ancestors of the Persians, migrated not southwards but westwards, and in course of time established a great and powerful kingdom called Persia.

B. Persian Invasion. (*a*) *Cyrus* (558 B.C.—530 B.C.). Kaikushru, or Cyrus, was one of the greatest kings that ever reigned over Persia. He was the founder of the Persian Empire, and has been called the Great. His military activities were confined to the territories corresponding to the present Afghanistan and Baluchistan.[2]

(*b*) *Darius* (522 B.C.—486 B.C.). Another great Persian monarch ventured further eastwards than Cyrus, and conquered the right bank of the Indus. He founded a satrapy, or Persian province, which comprised the whole valley to the west of the Indus, from that river's mouth to its uppermost tributaries in the north and west.[3]

[1] *C.H. of I.*, i. 319. [2] *Ibid.*, 333. [3] *Ibid.*, 337.

(c) *Xerxes* (486 B.C.—465 B.C.). He was the son of Darius, and succeeded him on the throne. During his reign Persian dominion to the west of the Indus was maintained till the Persian armies were defeated by the Greeks (480 B.C.). But this does not mean that Persian influence ceased to make itself felt. Had this been the case, it would not have been possible for Darius III, as much as 150 years later, to raise a considerable number of Indian troops to resist the Greek invasion of Persia by Alexander. It was only after Alexander had completely defeated the Persians that the last vestige of Persian control gradually disappeared.

SUMMARY

I. Buddha

1. Aim : to escape from re-birth.
2. Means : unselfish devotion to others.
3. Result : Nirvana.

II. Mahavira

1. Aim : to escape from re-birth.
2. Means : self-discipline and mortification.
3. Result : development of divinity in man.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on the Saisunagas (No. 1, I).

2. Give a brief biographical sketch of Buddha and of Mahavira (No. 2, *a*, *b*).

3. Give a brief account of Buddha's and of Mahavira's teaching (No. 2, *a*, *b*).

4. What was the subsequent fate of Buddhism ? (No. 2, *a*, *c*).

5. Who were the Persians, and what were their dealings with India ? (No. 3).

CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNING OF ACTUAL HISTORY

326 B.C.

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN

Who he was. Alexander was the son of Philip of Macedon, and was born in 356 B.C. Even before his accession to the throne he had shown remarkable military leadership, but it was after he had become King of Macedon that he revealed himself as one of the greatest military captains in the history of the world. His expedition into Persia was a long and uninterrupted series of victories, which ended in the death of Darius, the ruler of that country. Moreover, the Persian expedition brought him in close proximity to India, and in 326 B.C. he passed through the Khyber Pass, and marched towards the Indus.

THE INDIAN CONQUEST

1. Leading Events. (*a*) *Alliance with the King of Taxila.* Alexander crossed the Indus without striking a blow ; for the opposite bank was part of the kingdom of Taxila, whose ruler hastened to make peace with the invaders. It has been surmised that he thus allowed Alexander to pass unchallenged what might otherwise have proved an almost impassable barrier, in order to secure his help against King Poros, whose kingdom was next to that of Taxila.

(*b*) *Defeat of King Poros.* Alexander continued his march towards the Hydaspes (Jehlum), the passage of which, however, was to prove more difficult than that of the Indus ; for King Poros and his army, 50,000 men strong, were drawn up in battle array on the opposite bank. Alexander had recourse to stratagem, and with 12,000 men effected a landing before the enemy was aware of it.

As soon as he had crossed, Poros advanced against him with his mighty host. The centre of Poros' army was made up of eight lines of Indian elephants, of which there were about 200 in all. Behind these was the main body of infantry amounting to 30,000 men, while to protect the Indian centre, 150 Indian war-chariots and 2,000 Indian cavalry were drawn up on either side of it.

Poros apparently expected Alexander to attack the Indian centre, and hoped to annihilate the attackers by launching against them the solid and irresistible phalanx of heavy elephants. But he was sadly disappointed. Alexander ordered his cavalry to wheel round the Indian army, and to attack the rear of the extreme left wing ; and by this movement succeeded in upsetting the line of battle which the army had taken up. For the Indian right wing hurried to the assistance of the Indian left wing, exposing the Indian centre to the attack of the Greeks.

The result was a general confusion, in the midst of which the Greek soldiers hurled their darts and arrows at the elephants and their riders. The animals, driven frantic by repeated wounds, stampeded in all directions, and trampled underfoot all whom they came across in their maddening rush for safety. Thus the Indian army was entirely defeated ; their losses in killed amounted

to 3,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry, whilst 9,000 were taken prisoners. Poros himself was among the latter, but Alexander knew how to treat a brave but beaten foe, and confirmed the prince in the government of his dominions.

2. Orders for Retreat. Alexander continued his victorious march eastwards, till he finally came to the Hyphasis (Bias); he probably thought of extending further his conquests, when for the first time in his military career he was brought face to face with an enemy against whom his reputed military skill was of no avail. This enemy was the unwillingness of his soldiers to proceed further. Accordingly Alexander, after he had erected twelve huge altars to mark the furthest point of his advance, marched backwards all the way he had come, till he reached once more the Hydaspes.

3. The Return Journey. The return journey now assumed a highly romantic character; for Alexander made up his mind to sail down the Indus. He commandeered therefore every possible native craft, and supplied the deficiency by building new vessels. Thus a part of the army found accommodation on board the 2,000 vessels of the improvised fleet, while the remaining army divided into two groups, and marched along the banks, accompanying and escorting the strange fleet. After fighting many a battle Alexander finally reached Pattala, whence the army marched into Gedrosia on its way back to Susa. The fleet sailed along the coast of the Persian Gulf, till eventually it reached the mouth of the Euphrates.

SUMMARY

Indian Campaign

1. Alliance with the king of Taxila.
2. Crossing the Indus.
3. Crossing the Hydaspes.
4. Defeat of Poros.
5. Advance towards the Hyphasis.
6. Return to the Hydaspes.
7. Sailing down the Indus.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Alexander's Indian Campaign. (I. 1-3.)

2. Write short notes on the King of Taxila, King Poros, the crossing of the Hydaspes, the battle of the Hydaspes, the retreat, and the return journey.

CHAPTER V

ACTUAL HISTORY, 320 B.C.—184 B.C.

No. 1.—THE MAURYA DYNASTY

I. Chandragupta I, 320-297.
II. Bindusara, 297-273.
III. Asoka, 273-232.
IV. Asoka's Successors, 232-184.

I. CHANDRAGUPTA, THE FOUNDER

320 B.C.—297 B.C.

Plan

1. Accession. **2. Conquests.** **3. Administration.**

I. ACCESSION

1. Who he was. It has already been mentioned that during the reign of Ajatasatru of the Saisunaga Dynasty the kingdom of Magadha considerably extended its sphere of influence. In course of time the Saisunaga Dynasty was superseded by the Nandas; and Chandragupta, surnamed Maurya, was commander-in-chief of the Nanda fighting forces. As he happened to incur his master's displeasure, he forthwith made an attempt to deprive him of the crown. But the attempt was abortive, and Chandragupta had to flee the country. He remained in exile till after the death of Alexander, when he once more made his appearance in public life.

2. How he became King. After Alexander's death he came forward as the leader of Indian opposition to

foreign occupation and rule, and conquered the Punjab. Next he turned his attention to his enemy, the Nanda ruler of Magadha. In the war which followed he was victorious; the last of the Nandas was defeated and killed; and Chandragupta became the ruler of Magadha.[1] His victory put at his disposal the whole of the Magadha troops, amounting to 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants, 600,000 infantry, and a multitude of chariots.[2]

II. THE CONQUEROR

With such military forces at his disposal Chandragupta began a long series of struggles to extend the frontiers of his kingdom. His military activities were crowned with success; for under him the Magadha Empire extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea and from the Hindu Kush mountains to the Narbada.

Struggle with Seleukos. One of the most important wars was the contest with Seleukos, a general of Alexander. Seleukos, in his eagerness to equal his former master, crossed the Indus, and determined to invade the plain of the Ganges. But his army was defeated by Chandragupta, and Seleukos had to return home after concluding a humiliating peace, by which he was forced to surrender large provinces to the west of the Indus. Thus Chandragupta succeeded in adding to his conquests Parapamisadai, Aria, Arachosia, and probably Gedrosia.[3]

III. THE ADMINISTRATOR

Chandragupta was possessed of considerable administrative ability, which he displayed both in the

[1] *C.H. of I.*, i. 467-472.
[2] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 116.
[3] Joppen, Map I.

organisation of the army and in the civil administration of the country.

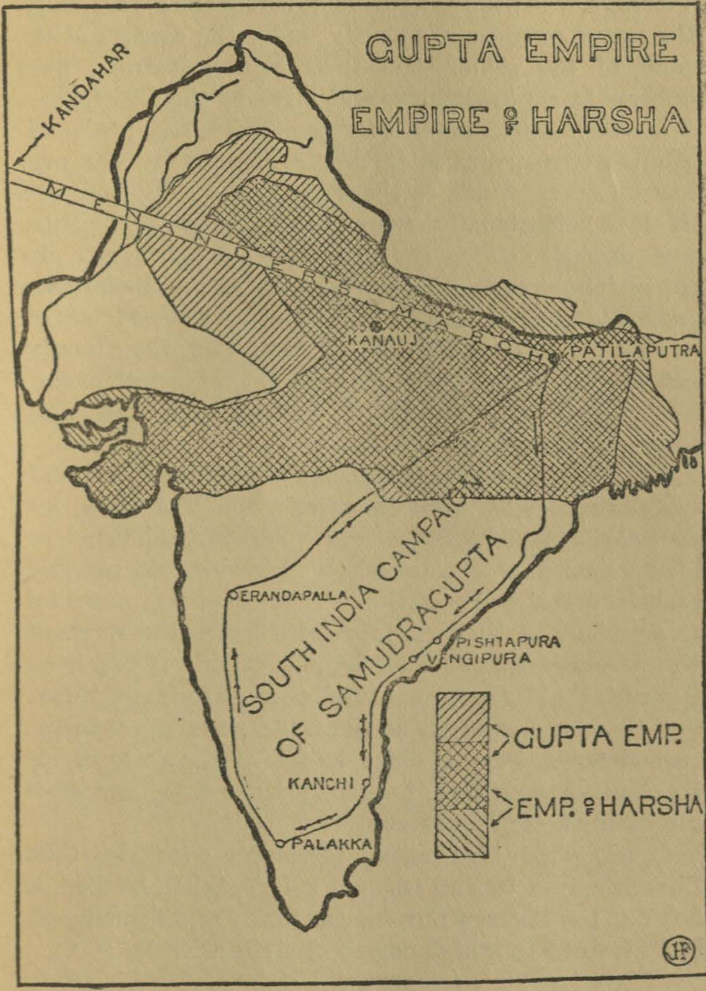
1. Organisation of the Army. The control of the large fighting forces of the Maurya Empire was in the hands of a completely organised War Office, consisting of thirty members, divided into six boards of five members each. Thus the work was departmentally divided, and thoroughness and efficiency were easily secured.[1]

2. Civil Administration. (*a*) *The town of Pataliputra.* Pataliputra was the capital of the kingdom; and, according to the records left behind by a Greek writer named Megasthenes, it must have been an imposing city indeed. For Megasthenes speaks of the city as twenty-five miles in circuit, surrounded by a deep moat, and walls having 570 towers and 64 gates.[2]

The administrative body of the city consisted of thirty members, divided into six committees of five members each. One of the committees was in charge of the superintendence of industrial arts, and had to see to it that workmen did their work properly, received just wages, and that the materials used by them were of good quality; another committee had to supervise the doings of manufacturers and merchants, who were ordered to keep old goods separated from new goods; while the four remaining committees were respectively entrusted with the care of foreigners, the registration of births and deaths, the regulation of trade and commerce, and the collection of the municipal taxes. There is every likelihood that a similar system of administration was in existence in the other great cities of the Empire.

(*b*) *The Provinces.* For administrative purposes the Empire was divided into outlying or distant provinces and home provinces. The former were governed by

[1] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 124. [2] Keene, i. 16.


GUPTA EMPIRE
EMPIRE OF HARSHA
KANDAHAR
MENANDER'S MARCH
KANAUJ
PATILAPUTRA
SOUTH INDIA CAMPAIGN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA
ERANDAPALLA
PISHTAPURA
VENGIPURA
KANCHI
PALAKKA
GUPTA EMP.
EMP. OF HARSHA

Viceroys, who were as a rule members of the royal family; the latter were more directly under the control of the ruler of the realm, and their local governors were inferior in rank, dignity, and birth to the Viceroys.

(*c*) *The Agricultural Classes.* Chandragupta's administrative genius is further evidenced by the protection he extended to the farmers, for they were not liable to perform military service. Moreover, agriculture was directly under the Irrigation Department. In return for the protection thus afforded them, the farmers paid a land revenue which amounted to one-fourth of the produce of their fields. Besides this, the already existing roads were either repaired or kept in good order, whilst new roads were built. Consequently trade and commerce flourished.

(*d*) *Administration of Justice.* Chandragupta ruled his subjects with an iron hand; but this does not necessarily mean that he was a tyrant, and loved to inflict punishment wantonly. Moreover, his severity may be partially excused, for Chandragupta, powerful though he was, had a number of enemies and rivals of whose doings he could never lose sight. It has been recorded that he never ventured to sleep during the day, and that even at night he did not always enjoy undisturbed rest. For, in order to defeat the plots of his treacherous courtiers, he rarely slept two successive nights in the same bedroom.[1]

Conclusion. We may therefore conclude that Chandragupta was an efficient ruler. When he died in 297 B.C. the Maurya Empire was firmly established, and had attained to a high degree of civilisation.

[1] Smith, *Asoka*, 76.

SUMMARY

I. Who he was

Commander-in-chief of the Nanda forces.

II. The Warrior

1. Attacked the Macedonian garrisons.
2. Conquered the Punjab.
3. Seized the throne of Magadha.
4. Extended the Empire from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, from the Hindu Kush to the Narbada.

III. Administrator

1. Army: War-office of 30, divided into six boards.
2. Pataliputra: a board of 30 members, divided into six committees.
3. Outlying provinces: Viceroys.
4. Home provinces: local governors.
5. Agriculture: no military service, irrigation.
6. Justice: criminals severely but not wantonly punished.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that Chandragupta was a great soldier. (II.)
2. Write a short note on Seleukos' vain attempts to imitate Alexander (II).
3. Write brief notes on: the organisation of the army (III. 1), the administration of Pataliputra (III. 2*a*), of the provinces (III. 2*b*), and of justice (III. 2*d*); and indicate the protection extended to farmers (III. 2*c*).
4. Show that Chandragupta was a great administrator. (III.)

II. BINDUSARA, THE SLAYER OF FOES
297 B.C.—273 B.C.

When Chandragupta died in 297 B.C., he was succeeded by Bindusara, surnamed the Slayer of Foes. During his reign, which lasted twenty-four years, he followed closely in his father's footsteps, and continued

to make further additions to the Magadha Empire by the annexation and conquest of new provinces. It is probable that he made the conquest of the Deccan down to approximately the latitude of Madras.[1]

III. ASOKA, THE ROYAL MONK

273 B.C.—232 B.C.

Plan

1. The Conqueror.
2. The Administrator.
3. The Royal Monk.
4. Asoka's Edicts.
5. Decline of the Maurya Empire.

I. THE CONQUEROR

Asoka ascended the throne in the year 273 B.C. The first eleven years of his reign are not marked by any notable event, and were probably spent in the administration and consolidation of the vast empire which he had inherited.

About the year 260 B.C. he felt himself in a position actively to follow his predecessors' policy of conquest, in order to enlarge his already extensive dominions. He invaded the kingdom of Kalinga, situated between the Godavari and the Mahanadi, along the eastern coast-line, and after a successful campaign annexed it.

After the conquest of Kalinga, Asoka's empire comprised the whole of the country contained between the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas on the north and a line running approximately from Mangalore to Madras in the south; its extreme western provinces were Afghanistan, Kabul, and Sind, whilst its extreme eastern province was Bengal.

[1] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 139.

II. THE ADMINISTRATOR

The details of Asoka's system of administration are in many respects the same as those we have already described when speaking of Chandragupta's beneficent rule ; [1] and will be but briefly mentioned.

1. The Administrative Body. The most important person in the kingdom was, of course, the King, whose power was absolute. Next came the King's chief representatives, the Viceroys ; they were at the head of the outlying provinces of the kingdom, and had Commissioners (Rajjukas) and District Officers (Pradesikas) to help them in the administration of their large territories. The home provinces were in all probability looked after by local governors under the immediate supervision of the ruler of the realm.[2]

2. The War Department. The Maurya Empire had at its disposal an enormous army, which numbered 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000 elephants. The military administration was looked after by a War Office of 30 members, divided into six boards of five members each.[3]

3. Civil Administration. The civil administration of the kingdom was in no way inferior to the elaborate supervision of the fighting forces. There was an Irrigation Department which controlled the distribution of water to the farmers, and was entrusted with the building of canals and bridges. Furthermore, there was a Financial Department in charge of the collection of the land-tax, which probably amounted to one-fourth of the produce. Finally, there was also a kind of Public Works Department, for the high-roads were planted with shady trees, wells were dug at frequent intervals,

[1] Smith, *Asoka*, 72-74. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* 77-80.

and close to the wells rest-houses were erected for the comfort of the weary traveller.[1]

III. THE ROYAL MONK

1. His Real Greatness. In one respect Asoka was totally different from all other rulers; for, after he had become famous as a warrior and administrator, there came such a great change in his life that he may rightly be called the Royal Monk.

2. Asoka's Conversion. This wonderful transformation was the fruit not of defeat but of victory; it was the most important and unforeseen result of the conquest and annexation of Kalinga.

Never did victory end so strangely. The enemy troops had suffered heavy losses: 100,000 soldiers had been slain; and 150,000 had been made prisoners.[2] But Asoka, far from being flushed with victory, was the victim of strange feelings of remorse; neither pride nor joy reigned in his heart, but profound sorrow and regret. The thought that military exploits should thus be steeped in the blood of thousands and of tens of thousands of innocent men acted so powerfully as a check to whatever dreams of military glory that he may have cherished, that he determined to sheathe the sword.

It was no doubt a noble resolve to make and a difficult one to keep; but, be it said to his honour, Asoka never wavered for a single moment in his determination. During the rest of his reign he ever abstained from offensive warfare. As years passed by, he developed a special attraction for the Buddhist creed, and finally he put on the yellow robe, and became a Buddhist monk. But, for all that, he did not abdicate,

[1] *Ibid.* 77-80. [2] *Ibid.* 16.

but continued to preside over the destinies of the Maurya Empire.

3. **Asoka's Teaching.** After he had thus astonished his subjects by his wonderful conversion, Asoka set himself to work to make them share his new religious belief, and imitate what he himself taught and practised. Accordingly he promulgated *the Law of Piety*, of which the moral excellency has been openly acknowledged by all.

Thus, for example, the Law of Piety teaches that "obedience to father and mother is good; liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, and Brahmans is good; avoidance of extravagance and violence of language is good."[1] Again, we are told that "the Law of Piety consists in the kind treatment of slaves and servants; and that, according to this law, men must shun evil-doing, because His Majesty (Asoka) desires for all animate beings security, control over the passions, peace of mind, and joyousness."[2] Moreover, those state officials who were entrusted with the superintendence of all that was connected with the new law are reminded that "the Censors of the Law of Piety are engaged in the prevention of wrongful imprisonment, in the work of removing hindrances and of deliverance, considering cases where a man with a large family has been smitten by calamity, or is advanced in years."[3]

The same precepts of humanity are part of the advice given to men who held responsible positions in the state, and were entrusted with the work of administration. "They must be at hand to stop unwarranted imprisonment and torture. They should desire to be free from such dispositions as render success impossible, *viz.* envy, lack of perseverance, harshness, impatience, want of application, idleness, and indolence."[4]

[1] Smith, *Asoka*, 117. [2] *Ibid.* 131. [3] *Ibid.* 120. [4] *Ibid.* 135.

4. Conclusion. By way of summary we may conclude that Asoka's teaching, as contained in the Law of Piety, was remarkable for its universality. It addressed itself to all his subjects, rich and poor, officials and non-officials ; and its rules covered the many-sided activities of man, either as an individual or as a member of a family, or as a subject of the state. Its characteristic features were : sanctity of animal life, self-control, and unselfish devotedness.

But the remark which we made when speaking of Buddha's teaching applies equally to the Law of Piety of Buddha's disciple. It is a moral code which may be compared to a stronghold built on a rock, and surrounded by impregnable walls, but with no well in it to quench the thirst of the defenders ; for the name of the Supreme Being, whom all men should reverence, serve and love, finds no place in it.

5. Results of Asoka's Teaching. That Asoka's teaching and, above all, his noble example were greatly instrumental in bringing about the spread of Buddhism is self-evident. Moreover, with him presiding over the destinies of the Maurya Empire, there was peace, and there was some degree of happiness for his many subjects.

IV. ASOKA'S EDICTS

These edicts, which are also known as inscriptions, are more than thirty in number. They are carved on rocks, boulders, cave-walls and pillars, and are concerned with many practical questions. They promulgate the Law of Piety : some lay down the principles of government, others convey religious instruction, and others inculcate the sanctity of animal life. These inscriptions were not originally intended to serve in

after years as historical documents of an age long past. They were obviously meant for Asoka's subjects, that they might read them and profit by them ; for they are written in the vernacular dialect, and are placed near famous shrines, where thousands of pilgrims flocked together, and could thus easily read them. We may therefore say without exaggeration that these edicts are among the most interesting documents of antiquity, and have made Asoka deservedly famous.

V. DECLINE OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY
232 B.C.—184 B.C.

Immediately after Asoka's death in 232 B.C. began the break-up of the Maurya Empire, and in the short space of forty-eight years, in less than half a century, the final destruction was accomplished. Asoka's successors were therefore men of an inferior type. There were five of them ; every one of them reigned for but a few years ; and, with the assassination of the last of them, the Maurya Dynasty came to an inglorious end.

SUMMARY

I. The Conqueror

1. Kalinga.

2. Extended the Empire from the Hindu Kush to the Mangalore-Madras line, from Afghanistan, Kabul, and Sind to the eastern frontiers of Bengal.

II. The Administrator

1. Administrative Body : the king, the viceroys, the commissioners and district officers, the local governors, the censors of the Law of Piety.

2. Army (*see* Chandragupta).

3. Pataliputra (*see* Chandragupta).

4. Public Departments : irrigation, financial, public works.

III. The Royal Monk

1. The result of victory.
2. Buddhist monk.
3. Teaching : the Law of Piety (sanctity of animal life, self control, unselfish devotion).

IV. Asoka's Edicts

1. Their number : 30.
2. Their purpose ; to promulgate Law of Piety.
3. Their place : near frequented shrines.
4. Their language : written in the vernacular dialect.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that Asoka was a great warrior and a wise administrator. (I, II.)

2. Briefly narrate how Asoka's conversion was brought about. (III. 2.)

3. Give a brief summary of Asoka's teaching as contained in the Law of Piety. (III. 3.)

4. Write a note on Asoka's Edicts. (IV.)

No. 1.—DISMEMBERMENT OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE, 184 B.C.—320 A.D.

Five hundred and four years elapsed between the assassination of the last representative of the Maurya Dynasty and the coming into power of Chandragupta, the founder of the Gupta Empire. During this long stretch of time there was no kingdom of such importance that its history could be identified with that of India. The following notes may serve the purpose of an historical bridge over the stream of intervening centuries. They will show how the Maurya Empire was gradually dismembered both by internal dissensions and external aggressions.

I. INTERNAL DISSENSIONS

1. The Sunga Dynasty, 185 B.C.—73 B.C. Pushyamitra, the murderer of the last Maurya Emperor, usurped the throne of Magadha, and founded the Dynasty of the Sungas, who, besides occupying Magadha, also held sway over the neighbouring territories, and extended their dominion as far south as the Narbada. This dynasty lasted for 112 years. Pushyamitra is the only ruler who deserves special mention, and the most noteworthy event during his reign was the revival of the Horse Sacrifice.

The Horse Sacrifice. It was shortly after Pushyamitra's accession that the widespread influence of Buddhism was seriously impaired by the revival of the Horse Sacrifice.

A large grey horse was supposed to possess certain lucky marks, which singled it out from among all the other horses of the country. The animal with these wonderful marks was seized, handed over to the priests, and by them subjected to various ceremonial rites. Then it was turned loose to wander at its will. As the animal started on its rambles, it was followed by a whole army of fighting men, whose leader claimed pasturage for the horse, wherever it chose to roam, or wherever it was driven.

This claim of pasturage was nothing else but an ultimatum to the people and ruler of the country in which the horse happened to graze. For, by granting pasturage, they acknowledged the supremacy of the leader of the army that followed the wandering steed; whilst if they chose to refuse pasturage, it was exacted from them at the point of the sword. The result was that, if after following, during a whole year, the wonder-

ful horse the army returned unconquered, its leader had a right to call himself Lord Paramount of all the countries through which the horse had passed. The successful return was the occasion of a great national festival, at which the horse was sacrificed.

Pushyamitra succeeded in returning unconquered: he could therefore claim to be the most powerful ruler of India; but he set at nought in the eyes of his subjects that respect for life which played such a prominent part in Gautama's teaching.

2. The Kanvas, 72 B.C.—28 B.C. The Sunga Dynasty was superseded by that of the Kanvas, whose short rule of forty-four years is conspicuous by the absence of any notable event of general interest.

3. The Andhras, 220 B.C.—225 A.D. The Andhras originally occupied the territory between the Godavari and the Kistna, in the Telegu-speaking country. At first these Telegus were members of the Maurya Empire, but shortly after Asoka's death they established an independent kingdom which lasted for more than 400 years.

They were ruled over by a dynasty of energetic kings, of whom thirty are mentioned. One of them slew the last Kanva ruler of Magadha in 28 B.C. But there is no historical evidence to prove that the Andhras held sway in that kindgom. The Andhra kings considerably extended the limits of their realm towards the south; and in course of time their kingdom included the Deccan from sea to sea. The Andhra dynasty died out in 225 A.D.

II. EXTERNAL AGGRESSIONS

1. Bactria and India. After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., Seleukos, one of his generals, founded the Seleukidan empire. In his unfortunate struggle with Chandragupta Maurya, Seleukos had to surrender the

provinces of Parapamisadai, Aria, Arachosia, and probably Gedrosia, practically the whole of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Nor were his successors more successful in maintaining the integrity of their dominions; for in 250 B.C. Bactria, situated between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, became an independent kingdom.

As long as Asoka lived the rulers of Bactria prudently stayed at home ; but after his death (232) they began to make incursions into India. Thus India became the victim of Greek aggression, and foreign kings of semi-Indian, Indo-Greek origin held sway in western India.

Demetrios (200—190 B.C.), the fourth king of Bactria, occupied Ariana or Afghanistan, extended his conquest into the Punjab, and called himself King of the Indians.

Menander, one of his successors, on the throne of Kabul, invaded India in 175 B.C. during the reign of Pushyamitra of the Sunga dynasty. His victorious onrush even threatened Pataliputra, the Magadha capital. But the campaign, which was crowned with success in its opening stages, ended in failure.

But the rulers of Bactria were not destined to remain in undisturbed possession of their newly acquired kingdom ; they had to give way before the onrush of other invaders.

2. Parthia and India. Parthia, situated south-east of the Caspian Sea, broke away from the Seleukidan empire at about the same time as Bactria. Like the Bactrians they invaded India, and extended their conquests as far as Taxila (185 B.C.). The provinces they occupied came to be called Satrapies, and till the close of the fourth century there was a number of Indian rulers of foreign origin who took the title of Satrap.

3. The Westward Drift. In the second century before Christ many nations were caught in the great migratory tidal wave, which swept westwards with irresistible force and energy. The great disturbance was in the first instance caused by the pressure of the Chinese Empire to extend its frontiers towards the west.

The Yueh-Chi, or Kushans, were the first to move westwards; and in the course of their travels they invaded the country of the Sakas, which was situated along the banks of the upper Jaxartes, a river that flows into the Aral Sea, 170 B.C.

The Sakas, a pastoral and nomadic tribe, were thus forced to change their abode, and compelled the Parthians or Scythians to make room for them. Finally the Parthians, caught in the vortex of the migratory wave, travelled southwards, invaded India, and occupied the kingdom of Taxila. But they were not allowed to settle down peacefully in their new abode; for the continued advance of the Yueh-Chi compelled the Sakas to retreat, who in their turn drove the Parthians before them.

Thus it came about that the kingdom of Taxila was next occupied by the Sakas. At last the Yueh-Chi, or Kushans, crossed the Pamir Plateau, and moved towards India. They defeated the Sakas and the Parthians, and laid the foundation of a great Indian Empire, which in course of time extended along the valley of the Ganges as far as Benares.

Thus the northern part of the Maurya Empire was for centuries the victim of successful invasions.

4. Prominent Rulers. Among the various rulers of the foreign tribes that invaded Northern India, Gondophernes and Kanishka deserve special mention.

(*a*) *Gondophernes.* He was the last Parthian ruler of Taxila, and is notable for having received a mission

from St. Thomas, the apostle. According to the legend, Gondophernes ordered the apostle to build him a palace in six months' time. St. Thomas promised to do so, but spent all the money he had received in almsgiving. So, when the time came, he explained that he was building for the King a palace, not on earth, but in heaven. Multitudes of people embraced his faith, 48 A.D.

(*b*) *Kanishka*, 120 A.D. He was the third ruler of the Kushan Dynasty, one of the royal houses that ruled over the Yueh-Chi tribes. Towards the west his empire reached as far as Persia, and its northern frontier stretched beyond the Plateau of Pamir. Its extreme eastern point was the confluence of the Jumna and of the Chambal, both of which formed its eastern boundary, and its southern frontiers were the northern edge of the Malwa Plateau, the confluence of the Indus and the Sutlej, and the Arabian Sea.

Kanishka's reign is important, because it was during his time that Buddhism went through a series of changes, that made it totally different from Gautama's original teaching. The most important change was the deification of the founder of Buddhism, whose image became the object of religious worship. Moreover, the Buddhism practised by Kanishka and his followers differed from the ancient doctrine in other respects also, so that there sprang up a new form of Buddhism by the side of the old Buddhist creed. But the adoption of Gautama's teaching by the foreign tribes that invaded Northern India does not seem to have benefited the cause of Buddhism, for gradually Buddhism, old and new, died out altogether, and ceased to be the national religion of India.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of the Horse Sacrifice (I. 1*b*); and explain what is meant by the Westward Drift (II. 3).
2. Write notes on Gondophernes and Kanishka. (II. 4.)

No. 2.—GUPTA DYNASTY, 320-600.

I. Chandragupta I, 320-326.
II. Samudragupta, 326-375.
III. Chandragupta II, 375-413.
IV. The Last Two Great Guptas.
V. The Break-up of the Empire.
VI. A Golden Age.

I. CHANDRAGUPTA I, THE FOUNDER, 320-326

Among the local Rajas, who had profited by the weakness of the Maurya Empire to found independent states, Chandragupta was by far the most remarkable. His marriage with the princess of the famous family of the Lichchhavi clan, whose ancient glory could be traced back to the early days of Buddhism, secured for him a supreme influence in Magadha. Chandragupta knew how to profit by this sudden rise in his fortunes, and was thus able shortly afterwards to call himself "the Sovereign of Maharajas." He became the founder of the Gupta Empire, which under his reign comprised the regions situated on either side of the Ganges as far westward as Allahabad. He died after a short reign of six years.

II. SAMUDRAGUPTA, THE WORLD-CONQUEROR 326-375

Plan

1. Military Achievements.
2. Personal Accomplishments.

1. Military Achievements. Shortly after his accession Samudragupta set to work to extend the boundaries of

the Gupta Empire. He was successful in his warlike expeditions : for towards the end of his reign the Gupta Empire comprised the whole of the plain of the Ganges from the Brahmaputra to the Jumna and the Chambal and from the mountains of Nepal to the Narbada and its protraction in a straight line running due east to the Bay of Bengal.

His military talent is clearly evidenced by his famous southern campaign. He advanced southwards along the coastline, defeated the armies of Kosala, captured Pishtapura, and defeated the kings of Vengi and of Kanchi. Next he turned westwards, and was victorious over the ruler of Palakka. During the return journey, made along the western coast, he subdued the kingdom of Deva-rashtra or the modern Maratha country, and Erandapalla, or Khandesh.

After his return from this victorious campaign he revived the ancient custom of the Horse Sacrifice, and thus claimed for himself the first place among the rulers and princes of this time. The exact date of his death is not known, but it is generally believed to have occurred in the year 375.

2. Personal Accomplishments. Samudragupta was not only a great military leader, but also an artist, skilled in music, song, and poetry. In the famous Allahabad inscription he is represented as having acquired the title of "Prince of Poets" by writing works which served as models for learned men, or pleased them.[1] Moreover, he gathered learned men around him, and took delight in their society.

[1] Bhandarkar, 59.

III. CHANDRAGUPTA II, THE SUN OF POWER
375-413

Plan

1. Military Achievements.
2. Personal Accomplishments.

1. Military Achievements. The next successor to the throne took the name of Vikramaditya, which means the Sun of Power, and the appellation was not an empty boast. He actively engaged himself by force of arms in extending his empire both in the east and in the west, and waged war in Bengal and in the plains of the Indus. He extended the Gupta Empire all along the north of the Narbada by the conquest of Malwa, Gujarat, and Kathiawar; and he thus gained possession of the sea coast, and opened to his subjects new fields for commercial expansion.[1]

Little is known of his campaign in Bengal: but a famous inscription on the celebrated Iron Pillar at Delhi records that in Bengal Chandragupta "breasted and destroyed the enemies confederate against him."[2] The same inscription informs us that the great ruler of the Gupta Empire crossed "the seven mouths of the Indus, and vanquished the Valhika nation"; so that we may conclude that "Chandragupta II subdued a part of the Punjab."[3]

2. Personal Accomplishments. Chandragupta II was also a wise administrator. Indeed during his reign peace and prosperity flourished to such an extent, that it has been said that no Oriental ruler ever governed India better than Vikramaditya.[4] Charitable institutions were not unknown even in those remote days

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 151. [2] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 275.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* 282.

Rest-houses were built along the high-roads, and Pataliputra, the capital, boasted of a free hospital where the poor and helpless patients were taken care of, and supplied with food and medicine.[1] The administration of justice was tempered with a mildness truly remarkable. Nor was such tolerance misplaced, for the land was free from brigandage, the traveller being as secure on the highway as in his home. The people were not burdened with taxes, or preyed upon by greedy officials; for the officials drew fixed salaries, which were regularly paid, and they had no occasion to live on the people.[2]

3. Vikramaditya's Judgment Seat. The glowing tribute of this legend singularly corroborates the uprightness and wisdom of the great Gupta ruler.

One day some shepherd boys thought of whiling away the long hours of the day by playing a new kind of game. One of them took his seat on a grassy mound, and said to his companions: " I am the judge, come to me with your cases, and we shall have regular Court trials." The other lads entered with the greatest eagerness upon this novel kind of sport.

But now a wonderful change took place in the self-appointed judge. All his levity was gone; he listened with a seriousness which could not possibly be taken for mock gravity, and his answers filled his young companions with astonishment. Thus the shepherd boys played till it was time for them to take the cattle home, when the young judge leaped from the mound. Forthwith all his solemnity and wisdom vanished, and he was once more the light-hearted laughing lad he had always been.

For many a day the shepherd boys played the same game, till at last the people of the surrounding villages

[1] *Ibid.* 280. [2] *Ibid.* 281

came with their differences to the boy-judge, who continued to dispense justice from the magical mound. Finally the ruler of the realm succeeded in unravelling the riddle : " Why," he said, " the boy must be sitting on Vikramaditya's Judgment Seat."

Accordingly the King and his courtiers went to the pasture ground, and after inspecting the grassy mound ordered their servants with mattocks and spades to overturn it. The servants bent over their tools and, as they dug, they found a slab of black marble, which had formerly been Vikramaditya's Judgment Seat.

IV. THE LAST TWO GREAT GUPTA EMPERORS

After Vikramaditya's death the most important Gupta rulers were Kumaragupta I, 412-455 and Skandagupta, 455-480. The former maintained in their integrity the vast dominions which he had inherited from his father. As he made bold to celebrate the famous Horse Sacrifice, he must have been an able and successful military leader.

Skandagupta was the last of the great Gupta rulers ; already during his reign the Empire was fiercely attacked by new invaders, the savage and warlike Huns. But Skandagupta succeeded in arresting the devastating torrent of destruction that threatened his vast dominions. He died in the year 480. His successors were unable to cope with the many dangers with which they were surrounded, and the Gupta Empire gradually fell to pieces.

V. THE HUNNISH INVASION, 455-565

The decline of the Gupta Empire was partly due to the worthlessness of the later Gupta rulers, who were

powerless to face the new danger which threatened their dominions, when the Huns invaded India.

1. **Who they were.** The Huns came from the wide Siberian Steppes. They were a race of reckless riders. Cradled in the saddle, in the saddle they grew up, and lived ; and, when old age made it impossible for them to remain any longer in the saddle, it was an evident sign that their life was about to close. They were small in stature, but broad-shouldered, and of great physical strength. They were utter barbarians, and if they were called the White Huns, it was in contrast to the dark races of Hindustan, and not because they were in any way a superior race. These were the men that swarmed across the north-western passes, and like a devastating torrent descended upon the smiling and prosperous plains of the Gupta Empire.

2. How they fared. In the year 500 the Huns overran the kingdom of Gandhara, or Peshawar, and determined once more to attempt the conquest of the Gupta Empire. Their efforts were crowned with success. The immediate result of their victorious campaign was the conquest of Malwa and the cession of large territories which had once belonged to the Gupta Empire. This was apparently the signal for the general dismemberment of the Empire, which in an incredible short time broke up into a patchwork of bickering principalities.[1]

This lack of unity had the effect of adding fuel to the flame of Hunnish rapacity. The reckless riders of the Central Asian tribes poured down unchecked into the plain of the Ganges ; burnt and robbed ; massacred and plundered ; whilst the unfortunate inhabitants beheld with dismay their fields trampled down by ruthless horsemen, their villages consumed by flames, and

[1] Havell, *S.H. of I.*, 99.

the whole of the land deluged with indiscriminate slaughter.

The Huns had, according to their way of looking at things, a glorious time of it, till at last about the year 565 their campaign of plunder was put an end to, when the Hun kingdom on the Oxus was overthrown by the Turks.

VI. A GOLDEN AGE

Plan

By way of conclusion we will briefly point out the wonderful greatness of the Gupta Empire.

1. Prosperity of the Country. The Chinese pilgrim, Fah-hien, has left behind a pleasing picture of the ancient glories of the Gupta Empire. He visited large towns, and beheld a rich and prosperous people, neither crushed by taxation nor harassed by state interference. He benefited by the numerous rest-houses built along the high-roads, and mentions the existence of a free hospital, founded and richly endowed by the benevolent and wealthy citizens of the capital, Pataliputra. He gratefully records that he was never molested on his long travels, so that the roads were free from brigandage. He returned to his native country with a host of pleasant recollections of his long and extensive travels.

2. The Sanskrit Language. Nor must it be forgotten that the Gupta emperors were men of a superior intellectual status. For it was during the Gupta Age that the Sanskrit language reached a height of unsurpassed literary excellence.

The first Aryan invaders spoke the language of the Rig-Veda, which in course of time, as the conquerors mixed with the vastly superior numbers of the conquered, underwent considerable changes, and was

transformed into various local dialects. Many of the religious poems of a later date are written in one form or the other of the altered Rig-Veda language. But as, little by little, the priestly caste, or the Brahman priesthood, asserted their superiority over the rest of the community, they naturally strove to perfect the language of their ministry. Thus it was that the Rig-Veda language and the dialects derived from it were gradually transformed into classical or polished Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit language did not supersede the other languages spoken at that time. Those languages continued to live on, side by side with Sanskrit; but they continued to change, sharing in this respect the fate of all living languages. Sanskrit has remained in its solitary unchangeableness what it was sixteen centuries ago, and stands even to-day a proud and unforgettable monument of the glories of the Gupta Age.

3. **Literary Revival.** The Gupta Rulers were not only efficient administrators, they also encouraged literature.[1] The result was a great literary revival during the Gupta Age. The greatness of the literary movement is evidenced by the "Nine Gems" of Sanskrit literature, who according to the famous popular legend lived at the court of Bikram of Ujjain. But this Bikram of Ujjain has been identified with Chandragupta II. Both Mr. Vincent Smith and Professor Bhandarkar have come to this conclusion, though the latter points out that it is by no means necessary to hold that all the Nine Gems flourished at his court.[2]

Among the Nine Gems the most renowned was Kalidasa, whose famous play, Sakuntala, has secured the enthusiastic admiration of both the East and the West.

[1] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 274. [2] Bhandarkar, 52.

4. Progress in Various Branches of Learning. The wonderful revival was not confined to poetry alone; a general impulse was communicated to many other branches of learning. Thus, for example, during the Gupta Age the sciences of mathematics and astronomy were cultivated by an ever increasing number of students, whilst the fine arts, architecture and sculpture painting and music, secured many ardent followers.

5. Hindu Renaissance. Finally the Gupta Period witnessed the revival of Hinduism and the decline of Buddhism. Under Asoka the latter was practically the state religion of the Maurya Empire, but though state religions may rapidly spread, they seldom last long. Thus it came about that step by step the Hindu worship superseded Buddhist religious practices, both with the rulers and with the people. The dying of Buddhism is evidenced by the famous Horse Sacrifice performed by two Gupta emperors.

SUMMARY

I. Chandragupta I

1. Advantageous marriage.
2. Sovereign of Maharajas.
3. Extended the Empire along the Ganges to Allahabad.

II. Samudragupta

1. Military achievements: extended the Empire from the Brahmaputra to the Chambal and the Jumna, from the Himalayas to the Narbada; the Deccan campaign, the Horse Sacrifice.

2. Personal accomplishments: soldier and artist; the prince of poets.

III. Chandragupta II

1. Military achievements: conquered Malwa and Gujarat, fought in Bengal, crossed the Indus.

2. Personal accomplishments: wise ruler, peace, prosperity, charitable institutions, no crushing taxes; Judgment seat.

IV. A Golden Age

1. Chinese Pilgrim: towns, people, roads, hospitals.
2. Sanskrit, a monument of Gupta Age.
3. Literary revival (the Nine Gems).
4. Sciences and fine arts flourished.
5. Hinduism superseded Buddhism.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an idea of the extent of the Gupta Empire under the first three great emperors. (I; II, 1; III, 1.)

2. Justify the statement that Samudragupta I may rightly be called "The Indian Napoleon." (II, 1.)

3. Show that Chandragupta II was a man of wonderful ability both in the field of war and in the domain of peace. (III, 1-3.)

4. Is it true that the Gupta Age deserves to be called a Golden Age? (VI.)

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF THE HINDU PERIOD

No. 1.—THE KINGDOM OF KANAUJ, 606-647

Introduction. The invasion of the Huns resulted in the dismemberment of the Gupta Empire and in its division into rival states ruled by petty Rajas, till at last, about the year 606, another strong man appeared. This man was Harsha Vardhana, who was destined to gather the scattered remnants of the old and fallen Gupta Empire in order to bring them under his royal sceptre.

Plan

1. Raja of Thanesar.
2. The Affectionate Brother.
3. The King of Kanauj.
4. The Administrator.
5. The Scholar.

1. Raja of Thanesar. Harsha's father, Prabhakara Vardhana, had profited by the dismemberment of the Gupta Empire to found an independent state, lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna, with Thanesar for its capital. After his father's death, Harsha's elder brother, Rajya Vardhana, succeeded to the throne. Shortly afterwards the Raja of Kanauj, brother-in-law of the Thanesar princes, was slain by the Raja of Malwa, and their sister, Princess Rajyasri, was thrown into prison. Thereupon the Raja of Thanesar marched against Malwa, defeated its ruler in battle, but was

himself treacherously murdered by his vanquished enemy's allies. After his brother's death Harsha became Raja of Thanesar.

2. The Affectionate Brother. Princess Rajyasri had succeeded in making her escape from prison, and had sought safety and refuge in the dense Vindhya Mountains. As soon as he had ascended the throne, Harsha made it a point to seek out his sister's retreat. He was successful in his quest, and found her hiding-place at a most opportune moment. If he had come a day later, he would have found her ashes; for Rajyasri, in the depth of her despair, had determined, together with her female attendants, to ascend the funeral pyre as Sati. As it was, he succeeded in persuading her to desist from the dreadful ordeal, and took her back with him to his capital.

3. King of Kanauj. After he had recovered his sister, Harsha forthwith began warlike operations to punish his brother's murderer, the wicked King of Gaur in Bengal. The campaign lasted many years, and was a complete success. Thus Harsha became the ruler of large dominions which extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, and from the Himalayas to the Narbada line. He succeeded in practically restoring the old frontiers of the Gupta Empire.

4. The Administrator. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, has left behind a most pleasing picture of Harsha, the Great and the Good. First of all the king had the good of his subjects at heart; for he did not trust officialdom, and closely superintended the administration of the kingdom. The taxes were light for the farmers, for they did not exceed one-sixth of the produce of the soil. Moreover, in many parts of the kingdom there were excellent roads provided with

rest-houses, where needy travellers were supplied with food and, if they happened to be suffering from bodily ills, with medical attendance. There seems to have existed even a system of public education; and Brahman as well as Buddhist teachers gave instruction to the ignorant.

5. **The Scholar.** Harsha himself was quite a literary celebrity, and there are still extant three Sanskrit plays that are attributed to him. Finally, Harsha was a deeply religious man. He favoured Buddhism, but was not opposed to Brahmanism; and he seems to have worshipped indiscriminately Buddha, the Sun, and Siva. He died in the year 647.

SUMMARY

I. Raja of Thanesar

After his brother had been murdered Harsha became Raja of Thanesar.

II. The Affectionate Brother

Searched for, found, and brought back his sister.

III. King of Kanauj

Waged war with Gaur, restored the old frontiers of the Gupta Empire.

IV. The Administrator

Personal supervision, light taxes, roads, education.

V. The Scholar

Reputed author of three plays, patron of learning.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of Harsha's accession and of his quest of Princess Rajyasri (1-2).

2. Show that Harsha was a great military leader, a wise administrator, and remarkable scholar (3-5.)

No. 2.—THE DARK AGES, 700-1000

According to Mr. Vincent Smith, the death of Harsha loosened the bonds which restrained the disrupting forces always ready to operate in India, and allowed them to produce their normal result, a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in perpetual strife.[1] The result was that the country was in a state of chaotic confusion, and the scene of great political disturbances. There was a total absence of that peaceful concord which is necessary for the performance of great achievements of national and universal importance.

No. 3.—THE RAJPUTS

Plan

1. Their origin. 2. Clan-Life. 3. Principalities.

I. ORIGIN OF RAJPUTS

1. Successors of the Kshatriyas. It is after the break-up of Harsha's Empire that the Rajputs make their first appearance in the annals of Indian History. In early times the Kshatriyas were the fighting men of India; but little by little they lost their pristine warlike spirit,[2] and their place was taken by the Rajputs.

2. Who they were. The foreigners who time after time invaded India were not only conquerors, they also joined the ranks of the conquered, and many of them adopted Indian customs, and practically became members of the Hindu community. Among these hinduised foreigners there were a number of men who had been cradled in warfare, and who were passionately fond of fighting. They were men of various races, they

[1] Smith, *E.H. of I.*, 330. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 174.

had entered India on different occasions, but little by little they drifted together; for wherever a great military leader arose such men were sure to gather in great numbers. In this way were formed the famous Rajput clans.

The Rajputs therefore did not originally belong to one and the same race, and were not united by ties of blood-descent to a common ancestor.[1] They were originally members of the various nomadic races; but as a result of their marriage alliances with Hindu families, their foreign origin was largely tempered with the local element, so that in course of time even Brahman families became Rajputs.

II. THE RAJPUT CLANS

The various Rajput tribes were not only independent of one another, but were also often divided among themselves by disputes and dissensions. Yet in spite of this, there was among the various tribes a similarity of customs, which has at times been called the Rajput clan-life.

1. **Rajput men.** The Rajput men were born soldiers, and their name has ever stood for the living embodiment of chivalry and bravery. The loyalty to their chiefs of the Rajput nobles and their followers not only stood the test of accumulated misfortune, but was also often sealed by their blood on the battlefield. Their loyalty was equalled by their bravery; and there were two things no Rajput ever thought of giving up, his horse and his sword. They were exceptionally good riders; and every Rajput sat on his horse like a statue, and rode like the wind. Nor did they ever fail to give a good account of themselves on the battlefield.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 173.

Their warlike disposition manifested itself even in their pastimes. Every year they celebrated the spring hunt, and on this occasion the reckless riders, with lance and sword, pursued the game with such relentless energy that the ground soon reeked with the blood of stricken boars, mangled horses, and wounded riders.[1] They likewise indulged in games which called for every kind of noble horsemanship, and in this art no competitors approached their supremacy.

2. The Rajput Women. The birth of a daughter was not greeted by the members of the family with special rejoicing. Nobody positively disliked the new arrival, but it was understood by all that if the baby had been a boy the festive cup would have gone round amid laughter, jest, and song. But this does not mean that the condition of the Rajput women demanded commiseration, for their influence was very great; and, if the Rajput husband was the lord of his stronghold, his wife was the queen of his household.

Thus, for example, when the husband returned defeated from the battlefield, whence he had been forced to flee after a heroic resistance to overwhelming odds, it sometimes happened that he found his castle gates shut against him and was met with a messenger from his angry wife to say "that she had no longer a husband, that her husband must needs be dead; for that her husband could not possibly have been so craven as to seek safety in flight."[2] This makes it plain that the Rajput women were as brave and as chivalrous as the men.

Moreover, everyone of them was passionately devoted to her husband. After the latter had died, his widow no longer cared to live; and who can tell the number of

[1] Tod, i. 533. [2] *Ibid.* 587.

Rajput women who, without shrinking or shirking, marched to the terrible ordeal of the Sati?

3. Contempt of Death. This devotedness of the women to their husbands was but a particular instance of the loyalty of all the Rajput women, young and old, to the clan. Rajput men never hesitated to measure their strength with their foe, even when they had to face overwhelming odds. It was then determined by the members of the tribe that the warriors should die on the battlefield after inflicting the greatest possible losses on their foe. But before the men donned the yellow robe and rushed to the battlefield and to death, the women, all of them, went through the terrible ordeal of the *Johur*, which was but another form of Sati. Thus time after time Rajput chastity triumphed in the crackling leaping flames.

4. Social Customs. By way of conclusion we shall add a few words about their social habits. Among the Rajputs to eat opium together seems to have been the most inviolable pledge; and therefore opium in some form or other was commonly used on the occasion of friendly visits.[1] Furthermore, one of the most lasting friendships was that established by the gift of a bracelet. On the occasion of the Rakhi, or festival of the Bracelet, Rajput ladies used to send bracelets to the young men whom they wished to adopt as their brothers. The acceptance of the gift gave the young ladies claims almost superior to those of consanguinity.[2]

As regards the training of the children, the Rajput never forgot that his boys were destined to become warriors. Before the lads had strength of arm to wield the sword, they practised with toy scimitars on the heads of goats, lambs, and kids; and when they

[1] Tod, i. 607. [2] *Ibid.* 547.

brought down their first wild animal, they were congratulated and feasted by all the members of the respective families. Thus the boys grew, till at last they were able to accomplish what was the cherished dream of every Rajput, till they could bury their arrow to the feather either in an earthen target or in a fleeing buffalo.[1]

III. RAJPUT PRINCIPALITIES

After they had formed a distinctive community, the Rajputs continued to spread with wonderful rapidity. They were found everywhere from the Indus to Bihar. They first settled in Rajputana ; next they occupied the Punjab ; afterwards they penetrated to Kashmir ; and after spreading to the north and east of Southern Oudh, they finally became the masters of the Central Himalayas. For the space of 400 years and more (700-1100) they were the paramount power of India, so that this long period has rightly been called the Rajput Period. The extent of their power may be easily gathered from the fact that James Tod, the classical historian of Rajasthan, mentions no less than thirty-six royal races.

SUMMARY

I. Who they were

Members of various nomadic races.

II. Rajput Clan-life

Similarity of customs. Men were loyal and brave ; warlike pastimes. Women influential and devoted.

III. Social Customs

Eating of opium, bond of the bracelet, warlike education of boys.

IV. Rajput Principalities

Occupied northern India, thirty-six royal families ; from 700-1100 the Rajput Period.

[1] *Ibid.* 608.

No. 4.—SOUTHERN KINGDOMS

The political confusion which prevailed in India was greater in the north than in the south; for in the latter part of the country the existence of important kingdoms is a clear proof of more peaceful conditions.

1. The Chalukyas of Badami (550-757). *Pulakesin I* (550-608), a Rajput chieftain, established himself at Vatapi, the modern Badami in the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency.[1] He became the founder of the Badami dynasty, which during the course of two hundred years played an important part in the history of the Deccan. *Pulakesin II* (608-642), his grandson, may rightly be called the saviour of the Deccan. He lived at the same time as King Harsha of great military fame, was successful in warding off Harsha's invasion, and prevented him from crossing the Narbada (620).[2] This makes it clear that he was an able leader with considerable military forces under his control.

He conquered Gujarat, Malwa, Vengi (a country along the east coast between the Godavari and the Kistna), and Kanchipura (Conjeevaram). His empire comprised the greater part of the Deccan, and extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Narbada to the Palar river.[3]

His military greatness is witnessed to by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang: "He is of the race of the Kshatriyas, and his name is Pulakesin. His ideas are large and profound, and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Whenever the army commences a campaign, these

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 164. [2] *Ibid. O.H.I.*, 200. [3] Rangaswami, i. 130.

braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants, which run forward in a body trampling all under their feet. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms."[1]

His military career came to an inglorious end, for the empire was invaded by the Pallavas, by whom he was vanquished and slain (642).

Pulakesin's successors. They tried their utmost to recover their country's lost prestige. On several occasions they defeated the Pallavas, but their military triumphs so exhausted their resources that in 750 they were superseded by a rebellious vassal, who was a Rashtrakuta chieftain.

2. The Rashtrakutas (750-973). Though they were not aboriginals, they had been so long settled in the country that they were looked upon, not as foreigners, but as sons of the land in which they dwelt. For two hundred and twenty years they were the chief ruling dynasty in the Deccan. During their reign Hinduism spread among the masses, its creed became the subject of many treatises, its temples were erected all over the land, and the practice obtained of excavating cave-temples cut from the rock, notably at Ellora, now in the Nizam's Dominions.[2]

The Rashtrakutas were if anything more warlike than their predecessors; and in course of time suffered the same fate. Their power was overthrown by a rebellious vassal named Tailapa (973).[3]

3. The Chalukyas of Kalyani (973-1190). With the advent of Tailapa a new royal house was founded.

[1] Quoted by Rangaswami, i. 130. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 201.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 202.

The new rulers, who held sway over the Deccan for nearly 200 hundred years, claimed descendance from the Chalukyas ; and they are generally referred to as the Chalukyas of Kalyani, because their founder made Kalyani the capital of his dominions.

They were constantly engaged in warfare with the southern kingdom of Chola. Tailapa himself could not prevent Rajaraja the Great of Chola from cruelly ravaging his kingdom. But one of his successors, Somesvara Chalukya, was more fortunate. He slew the then reigning monarch Rajadhiraja of Chola in the battle of Koppam on the Kistna (1052). Another of their rulers Vikramanka (1076-1126) made his name famous in the annals of war, and his exploits have been sung by Bilhana in an historical poem of great length.[1]

In the course of the twelfth century the Chalukya kingdom was gradually dismembering.

4. **The Eastern Chalukyas.** When the Chalukyas of Badami were in the height of their power, Pulakesin II, after having conquered Vengi, appointed his brother, Vishnuvardana, viceroy of the new frontier-province. But within a short time the viceroy made himself independent, and established the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas, those of Badami being called the Western Chalukyas.

The Eastern Chalukyas did not play an important part in the history of the Deccan. They were caught in the whirlpool of relentless warfare. Like Badami, the kingdom of Vengi was overrun by Rajaraja, and on that occasion the Eastern Chalukya king married the invader's daughter. In this way were the Eastern Chalukyas entirely separated from their western kinsmen.[2]

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 202. [2] *Ibid. O.H.I.*, 202.

5. The Pallavas. *The Earliest Pallavas.* Their origin is shrouded in mystery. It was at first believed that they came from Persia,[1] but it seems more likely that they were a local tribe. They are mentioned in the famous Deccan expedition of the second Gupta monarch, Samudragupta, who defeated the Pallava ruler of Kanchi (Conjeevaram) near Madras.

The Later Pallavas (400-977). They were powerful, and formed for some time the paramount nation of Southern India. Their territories comprised the modern North and South Arcot, Madras, and Trichinopoly; and when their power was greatest, their kingdom extended along the eastern coast from the southern frontier of Orissa to the Southern Pennar, and stretched as far inland as Berar, Salem and Bangalore.[2]

Their rulers were of a warlike stock. In 642 they invaded the country of the Western Chalukyas, and triumphed over the famous Pulakesin II. But thirty-two years later, in 674, they were defeated by Pulakesin's son, and their capital, Kanchi, fell into the hands of their rivals. They continued the struggle, till they were again defeated in 740. From this time onwards Pallava supremacy began to decline, and their power practically came to an end, when at the close of the ninth century the Cholas secured for themselves the supremacy in southern India.[3]

One remarkable and notable feature of the Pallava supremacy was the rapid growth of Pallava art. The Pallavas were great architects, and built numerous temples, of which the Seven Pagodas of Mahabalipuram and the temples of Kanchi remain to this day to witness to the greatness of the Pallava rulers.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii. 325.
[2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 207.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 210.

6. The Cholas (860-1310). The Tamil kingdom of the *Earliest Cholas* was already in existence in the third century before Christ, and in those days its independence was recognised by Asoka of Maurya fame. For many years the Cholas played no important part in the history of southern India, and it was only towards 860 that the *Later Cholas* secured for themselves a place among the leading kingdoms of the south. Their influence lasted from the end of the ninth to the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

Their history is closely connected with that of the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, and the Pallavas, with whom their relations were as a rule the reverse of peaceful.

Rajaraja the Great, who ascended the throne in 985, was one of their greatest rulers. With a host of hundreds of thousands of soldiers he overran the country of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, everywhere spreading ruin and devastation, and indiscriminately killing, it is said, Brahmans, women and children.[2] He also waged war with other neighbouring kingdoms, and was acknowledged as overlord by the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, and other minor dynasties. He even conquered and annexed Ceylon; and after a reign of twenty years died the paramount ruler of Southern India.[3]

He left to his son and heir an extensive kingdom which comprised the whole of the modern Madras Presidency with the exception of Madura and Tinnevelly.[4]

His successors. He was succeeded by four equally energetic members of the dynasty, who tried their utmost to maintain Chola supremacy in the south. His son, Rajadhiraja, was defeated and slain by the

[1] *British Encycl.* xiv. 400.
[2] *British Encycl.* xiv. 400.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 202.
[4] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 211.

Chalukyas on the battlefield of Koppam on the Kistna ; but ten years later the Cholas defeated the Chalukyas.

Their kingdom continued to flourish till the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was gradually dismembered. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Chola kingdom became the victim of Muhammadan invasions (1310), and was finally superseded by the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

SUMMARY

I. The Chalukyas of Badami (Western)

Pulakesin I founded the dynasty.

Pulakesin II defeated Harsha, conquered Gujarat, Malwa, Vengi, Kanchipura.

His kingdom extended from sea to sea and from the Narbada to the Palar.

Successors : One of them was superseded by a Rashtrakuta chieftain.

II. The Rashtrakutas

Spread of Hinduism, rock-temples.

III. The Chalukyas of Kalyani

Tailapa founded the dynasty, was defeated by Rajaraja the Great of Chola.

Somesvara defeated Rajadhiraja of Chola.

Vikramanka was the last great ruler.

IV. The Eastern Chalukyas

Vishnuvardana was their founder.

V. The Pallavas

Their kingdom extended from Orissa to the Southern Pennar.

They were at war with the Western Chalukyas, defeated them in 642, and were defeated by them in 674.

VI. The Cholas

Rajaraja defeated the Chalukyas of Kalyani, and divided the eastern from the western Chalukyas.

His kingdom comprised Madras Presidency, except Madura and Tinnevelly. Rajadhiraja was defeated by the Chalukyas.

Their kingdom was first attacked by Muhammadans, and afterwards absorbed by Vijayanagar.

BOOK II

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLAM

No. 1.—MUHAMMAD THE FOUNDER

MUHAMMAD, which means "the Praised One," was born in Mecca in the year 570. He spent his early years as a shepherd and an attendant of caravans, and as such he came into contact both with Jews and Christians; and became acquainted with the teaching and traditions of Judaism and Christianity. He lived the life of his fellow countrymen, and belonged to the rank and file of humanity till his fortieth year. But in the year 610 he came forward as a religious leader, and claiming to have received a call from the Angel Gabriel, he began his career as a prophet of Allah and the apostle of Arabia.

His first followers were all of them members of his household; and his first attempts at securing other followers were not crowned with success; for his attack on Heathenism provoked persecution, which in 622 drove him from Mecca. Thus the year 622 became known as the year of the Hijira, or Flight, and was to be the first year of the Muhammadan era. He fled to Medina, where his teaching was listened to, and where he was acknowledged as the prophet of God. After-

wards his followers rapidly increased, so that he was soon in a position to vindicate his claim as a religious leader at the point of the sword.

He took the field against his enemies, and conquered several Arabian, Jewish, and Christian tribes. His successful warlike expeditions culminated in his return to, and his triumphant entry into Mecca in 630. Shortly afterwards he became master of the whole of Arabia, and in 632 made his last pilgrimage to Mecca at the head of 40,000 followers. One year later, in the eleventh year of Hijira, and the year 633 of the Christian era, he died.

The founder of Islam was not satisfied with preaching the new doctrine which he came to teach, he had also recourse to the sword. His successors, the Kaliphs, followed the same warlike policy in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The history of Islam in India is therefore not a peaceful penetration, but a military conquest. This history extends from 711 to 1525, and will be dealt with under the following headings :

I. First Campaign of the Crescent, 711-714.
II. Period of Respite, 714-961.
III. The Ghazni Dynasty, 961-1186.
IV. The Ghor Dynasty, 1186-1206.
V. The Slave Dynasty, 1206-1290.
VI. The Khilji Dynasty, 1290-1321.
VII. The Thughlak Dynasty, 1321-1414.
VIII. The Sayyids, 1414-1450.
IX. The Lodi Dynasty, 1450-1525.

No. 2.—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE CRESCENT, 711-714

1. Casim's Invasion, 711-714. This was the first Muhammadan invasion of a serious character. On the

seizure of an Arab ship by the people of Dewal, or Debal, a city somewhere near the modern Karachi, Caliph Walid sent Muhammad Casim to exact reparation for the insult, and to take vengeance upon the infidels.

His activities began by the siege, capture, and plunder of a celebrated pagoda that stood in close proximity to Dewal. Next he overran the whole of Sind, and though his advance upon Chitor was checked by the victorious resistance of Bappa of Mewar,[1] yet Casim seems to have obtained considerable success in his attempt at conquering Hindustan. But his victorious career was suddenly brought to an end, and his return was far from glorious. For Caliph Walid believing, upon false representations,[2] that he had been grossly insulted by his nephew, Casim, sent orders that the latter should be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to Damascus; and it would seem that these orders were actually carried out (714).

No. 3.—PERIOD OF RESPITE, 714-961

After Casim had thus miserably perished there followed a long period of respite.

The slow advance made by Islam may be accounted for by the following reasons. First of all there was in Hindustan the greatest union and solidarity between the priesthood and the government, so that when both of them found themselves threatened by a common foe, they hastened to combine forces, and thus presented a united front to the invaders. The inborn respect with which the Indians have always looked upon their priests and their rulers, was thus taken advantage of to

[1] Tod, i. 215. [2] Elphinstone, 312.

the fullest extent, and served as a powerful check to the new religion.

In the next place, it has always been a characteristic feature of the Indian mind to be adverse to any system that involves a change of, and a break with, the past. The new religion did not appeal to them; it was different from what their forefathers had either believed or practised, and accordingly their attitude towards it was one of passive indifference. Finally, India was divided into a number of little kingdoms, and the many petty Rajas all came forward as the champions of Hinduism.[1]

[1] Ibid. 313.

CHAPTER II

MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES AND THE DELHI SULTANATE

No. 1.—THE GHAZNI DYNASTY, 961-1186

I. Alptegin, 961-975.
II. Sabuktigin, 976-996.
III. Mahmud, 997-1030.
IV Successors of Mahmud, 1030-1186.

Plan

1. Predecessors of Mahmud.
2. Mahmud of Ghazni.
3. Successors of Mahmud.

I. PREDECESSORS OF MAHMUD

1. Alptegin, 961-975. In the year 961 Alptegin, who had originally been a slave of the ruler of Khorasan in Persia, but who had in course of time risen to the high position of governor of Khorasan, was deprived of the power, and fled to Ghazni (situated about seventy miles south-west of Kabul), where he became an independent ruler. But he was apparently satisfied with the kingdom which he had established, and did not attempt to extend his territory by encroaching upon India.

2. Sabuktigin, 976-996. After Alptegin's death Sabuktigin succeeded to the throne. Like his predecessor he happened to be a slave of the ruler of the realm. His marriage, however, with Alptegin's daughter gave him a place of paramont importance in the kingdom, and he eventually became its monarch.

He had scarcely ascended the throne, however, when his royal power was seriously threatened by the attacks of Jaipal, Raja of Lahore. Sabuktigin repulsed Jaipal's attacks and retaliated by adopting tactics of offensive warfare. Single-handed he victoriously faced the confederacy of the Rajas of Lahore, Delhi, Ajmer, and Kalanjar. The victory of the Muhammadan arms brought the country west of the Indus under the sway of the Ghazni Dynasty. Sabuktigin died in 990.

II. MAHMUD OF GHAZNI, 997-1030

1. The Raider. In November 1001 Mahmud of Ghazni, who had followed his father, Sabuktigin, to the throne, debouched from the snow-clad hills along the north-western frontier of India, marched through the Khyber Pass, and swooped down upon India. He first invaded India in the year 1001, and so successful was his first venture that he repeated it time after time. He died twenty-nine years later in 1030; but from 1001 to 1030 he invaded India no fewer than twelve times. To give a fair estimate of his warlike achievements we shall mention his most important raids.

(a) *First Raid*, 1001. He first defeated Jaipal of Lahore in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. Flushed with success, he advanced into India, crossed the Sutlej, and pursued his march till he reached the city of Batinda, which he stormed and plundered. This was his first raid in 1001.

(b) *Fourth Raid*, 1008. Seven years later Mahmud led his troops against Anandpal, Jaipal's son and successor. Anandpal appealed to his neighbours to join hands with him against the Muhammadan invader. But the Hindu confederacy of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmer failed to stem the tide of Mahmud's

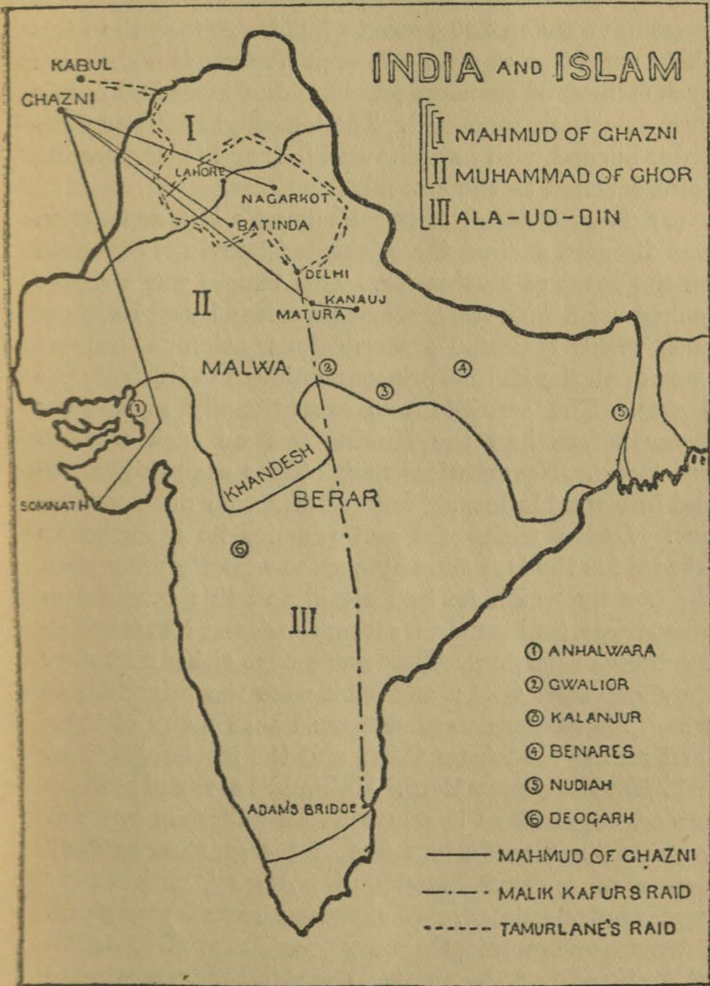
onslaught. For forty days the opposing armies confronted each other in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. When they finally joined issue, the advantage at first rested with the Hindu armies, who succeeded in inflicting enormous losses upon their adversaries. But when victory thus smiled on the confederates, Anandpal's elephant became unmanageable, turned and fled. This sight threw the Indian ranks into confusion; they failed to maintain the advantage gained, broke, and fled. For two days and two nights the Hindu fugitives were pursued by the Muhammadan cavalry; and 8,000 of them were killed, 1008.

Mahmud obtained an overwhelming victory, which enabled him successfully to attack the ancient stronghold of Nagarkot, now called Kangra. Its capture resulted in the plundering of its famous temples rich with the accumulated offerings of thousands of pious worshippers. The Sultan then returned to Ghazni richly burdened with plunder.

(c) *Ninth Raid*, 1017-1019. The ninth expedition was organised on a larger scale than any of the previous ones. At the head of 100,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, Mahmud invaded India, marched right across the Punjab, and pursued his way eastwards till he found himself at the gates of the imperial city of Kanauj. It is not distinctly said that Mahmud destroyed the ten thousand temples for which the city was famous;[1] and it is even asserted that he left the city uninjured at the end of three days.[2]

But, if Kanauj escaped destruction, Mathura, the sacred city of Krishna, was less fortunate. It was famous for works of art which ranked amongst the most noble monuments of Ancient India. One of its temples

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.* 192. [2] Elphinstone, 332.


INDIA AND ISLAM
I MAHMUD OF GHAZNI
II MUHAMMAD OF GHOR
III ALA-UD-DIN
KABUL
GHAZNI
I
LAHORE
NAGARKOT
BATINDA
DELHI
KANAUJ
MATURA
II
MALWA
KHANDESH
BERAR
SOMNATH
III
ADAM'S BRIDGE
① ANHALWARA
② GWALIOR
③ KALANJUR
④ BENARES
⑤ NUDIAH
⑥ DEOGARH
MAHMUD OF GHAZNI
MALIK KAFURS RAID
TAMURLANE'S RAID

was so magnificent that Mahmud was of opinion that it must have taken 200 years to build. Among the idols there were five of red gold, each five yards high, with eyes formed of priceless jewels.[1] But after Mahmud's visit very little remained. The temples had been by his order burned with naphtha and fire, and their smoking ruins levelled to the ground.

(*d*) *Twelfth Raid*, 1023. Mahmud's last expedition was directed against the celebrated temple of Somnath on the coast of Kathiawar. This temple was a shrine looked upon with the greatest reverence by all Rajputs, and when Mahmud's sacrilegious attempt became known, all the Rajput princes combined to frustrate the design. The struggle was exceptionally severe, for never before had the Hindus put up such a stout resistance. Nevertheless their efforts were doomed to end in dismal failure. Mahmud was once more victorious. Laden with gold and plunder he returned to Ghazni for the last time by a more westerly route than the one by which he had come, and this caused him great trials, for his march across the desert was attended by untold suffering. The troops were either misled, or they lost their way; and such were the privations to which his soldiers were subjected that many of them died raving mad from thirst and the intolerable heat.

2. The Legendary Hero. Mahmud's eventful military career, crowned as it was with an unbroken series of victories, has made him one of the greatest military heroes of Ancient India, and posterity, enriched by numerous anecdotes, still pictures him in haloed glory.

Thus, for example, the story goes that on the occasion of the three days' battle that raged round Somnath, the Muhammadan troops were actually wavering, when

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 192.

Mahmud leapt from his steed, prostrated himself on the ground, and implored the Lord of Battles to aid the defender of the true faith. It is related that his example so filled his followers with courage that, with one wild cheer, they made a desperate charge, rushed on the besieged, broke through their lines, threw them into confusion, and gained possession of the coveted prize.

Again, it is told that when Mahmud gave orders that the chief idol in the temple of Somnath should be destroyed, the Hindu priests offered untold gold to arrest all further desecration. But Mahmud, it is said, wished to be remembered by his followers not as "the idol-seller," but as "the idol-breaker." Accordingly he ordered his soldiers to proceed with their task. As they struck blow after blow the idol suddenly broke into two, and from its hollow cavity there flowed, in streams, diamonds, rubies, and pearls of much greater value than the amount offered by the Hindu priests.

It is told, also, that the disaster which befell his retreating army, when after the plundering of the temple of Somnath he returned to Ghazni, is supposed to have been the work of a Brahman priest. The latter is believed to have disguised himself as an ordinary guide, and to have led the Muhammadan host, loaded with loot and gold, into the waterless tracts of the overheated and sandy desert-plains. His treachery was discovered too late. The story has it that the Hindu exultantly confessed that he was one of the priests of Somnath, and that he died with the light of joy shining in his eyes, because he had succeeded in avenging the insults and wrongs heaped upon his countrymen and upon their religious belief. But all these anecdotes belong to the realm of legendary tales, and are dramatic rather than true.

3. The Man. Nor should these anecdotes blind us to the real character of Mahmud, whose passage through life was marked by destruction and bloodshed. No doubt he fought the battles of the Crescent, but the ardour of his faith was strangely marred by his incredible greed. As a matter of fact greed together with avarice seems to have been the ruling passion of his life. Among the legends circulated about him, one has it that two days before his death he ordered all his gold and all his caskets of precious stones to be brought in his presence, there to be displayed before him for the last time. The sight is said to have stirred his soul to its very depth, and to have made him shed tears of regret.

III. SUCCESSORS OF MAHMUD

After Mahmud's death, Muhammadan efforts to conquer India were to a large extent checked by the rival struggle for the succession to the throne of Ghazni, so that the subsequent fate of the Ghazni Dynasty is of little interest as far as India is concerned. The last of the Ghaznis, a certain Bahram, murdered his son-in-law, a Prince of Ghor, and received a murderer's retribution. For the brother of the murdered prince, Ala-ud-din Husain, marched upon Ghazni, captured it, and for seven days allowed his soldiers to plunder the city. It is true that Bahram himself escaped, and that his son, Khusru, and his grandson, Malik-Khusru, reigned in Lahore; but with the death of the latter the house of Ghazni died out, 1186.

SUMMARY

I. Alptegin

From a slave became governor of Khorasan. Fled from Khorasan, ruled at Ghazni.

II. Sabuktigin

1. From a slave became ruler of Ghazni.

2. In defensive warfare withstood Jaipal of Lahore, in offensive warfare defeated the Hindus.

III. Mahmud

1. First Raid : Jaipal of Lahore, Batinda.
2. Second Raid : Anandapal and his allies.
3. Ninth Raid : Kanauj, Mathura.
4. Twelfth Raid : Somnath.
5. Legendary Tales : His prayer before the capture of Somnath, the idol that was a treasure chest, the Hindu guide.
6. Character : greedy, avaricious, and cruel.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that Mahmud of Ghazni may rightly be called the Raider (II, 1).

2. Contrast the legendary stories connected with Mahmud's name with the man's real character (II, 3).

No. 2.—THE GHOR DYNASTY

MUHAMMAD OF GHOR, 1186-1206

Plan

1. Muhammad's Conquest.
2. The Struggle with the Rajputs.
3. Character Sketch.

I. MUHAMMAD'S CONQUESTS

Muhammad is the only member of the house of Ghor with whose short but eventful career we are concerned. He was above all a soldier, and is famous for his conquests.

1. **Anhalwara.** His first military expedition was directed against Anhalwara or Gujarat. He successfully attacked and captured Multan, situated on the river Jehlum, and proceeding southwards, occupied Uchch

at the confluence of the Punjab rivers and the Indus. Two years later he marched further south, and advanced upon Anhalwara, the capital of Gujarat. But his attempt was frustrated, and his retreating army was subjected to the same sufferings which the followers of his namesake, Mahmud of Ghazni, had undergone, when the latter returned home after destroying Somnath.

2. The Punjab and Sind. But the fierce Muslim fighting men never knew when they were beaten. Within an incredibly short time Muhammad made good his losses, annexed Lahore, and was thus in possession of the Punjab and Sind. Next he turned his attention to Hindustan Proper.

3. Hindustan Proper. Hindustan Proper consisted of three great Rajput kingdoms, Ajmer, Delhi, and Kanauj. These kingdoms were under the sway of Rajput Princes who at first frustrated Muhammad's attempt, by defeating him at the battle of Tarain. But a year later, they were defeated on the same battlefield ; and so complete was Muhammad's victory that it sounded the death-knell of the three kingdoms.

4. Other Conquests. Next the Muslim armies captured Anhalwara, the capital of Gujarat, and occupied Bihar, Bengal, and Bundelkhand.

Conclusion. Muhammad of Ghor may therefore rightly be considered as the real founder of Muhammadan Power in India. During his rule the Indian Muhammadan Empire extended from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and from the Himalayas to a line running from east to west, along the southern edge of the plain of the Ganges, and along the Narbada, and the river Luni.[1]

[1] Joppen, Map 9.

II. STRUGGLE WITH THE RAJPUTS

1. **Rajput Kingdoms.** At the time when Muhammad of Ghor cast wishful glances towards India, the most famous Rajput clans were the Bhogilas of Gujarat, the Rathors of Kanauj, the Tomaras of Delhi, and the Chouhans of Ajmer. Most of the leaders of these clans were famous warriors ; yet among them all the greatest was Prithiraj, the chief of the clan of the Chouhans.

2. **The Paladin of the Rajput Race.** Prithiraj was the Paladin of the Rajput race and the living embodiment of Rajput chivalry. He was the ruler of Ajmer, and in course of time presided also over the destinies of Delhi. For the ruler of Delhi was Prithiraj's grandfather, who had no male heir, and who adopted his grandson as his successor to the throne of the Hindu kingdom of Delhi. But the choice naturally stirred the jealousy of Jaichand, the ruler of Kanauj, who was likewise a grandson, and even an elder grandson by another daughter. The enmity between Ajmer and Kanauj was greatly instrumental in bringing about the ruin of the Rajput cause, but it likewise served the purpose of making Prithiraj the greatest of all national heroes ; for the romantic way in which he won his bride has ever been, and is still a story to which every Rajput lad proudly listens with his shining eyes dancing for joy.

The Raja of Kanauj, in his eagerness to humble Prithiraj, determined to hold the Sai-nair. This ceremony was, on the part of the ruler who held it, more than a claim to paramount power ; it amounted to a virtual assumption of universal supremacy, and was to conclude with the nuptials of the Raja's daughter, who, according to the custom of those days, was to select her future lord and husband from among the assembled guests.

Many were the nobles and the royal princes that had gathered at Kanauj ; but there was one whom the Raja had studiously forgotten to invite, and this was Prithiraj. To add to the insult, a statue (some say it was made of clay) of the absent ruler of Ajmer and Delhi had been made, and had been posted near the entrance gate of the gorgeous arena, where nobles and princes in glittering array surrounded the happy Jaichand. Thus he made it clear that Prithiraj was not worthy of joining his noble guests, and that he was but fit to play the part of a despised doorkeeper.[1]

But Prithiraj, though uninvited, was present, not amongst the gorgeously attired nobles, but in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of assembly. He had made up his mind to wipe out the insult offered to his royal house with blood, with his own blood, or with that of his enemy, as the fortune of war might decide. But there was a great surprise in store for both Prithiraj and Jaichand. For it is said that, to everyone's dismay, the Princess of the royal house of Kanauj passed by all the noble and royal suitors that were anxious to be made the object of her choice, and threw her gärland round Prithiraj's statue.

Great was the commotion that followed, and Prithiraj profited by the confusion to strike his blow. He broke through the cordon of the guards, boldly walked into that magnificent assembly, and bore off the fair prize, the royal Princess of Kanauj. Then there followed a running fight ; Prithiraj and his trusty followers, with the Princess in their midst, were riding like the whirlwind to escape their pursuers, who were hot on their trail. For five days they fled, and fought, and many a brave lad stayed behind to arrest the onrush of the

[1] Tod, ii. 7-8.

pursuers and to delay their progress. But the fugitives made good their escape, and Prithiraj gained immortal renown, and became the admired knight-errant of every Rajput damsel. But this hero-worship was a poor return for the great loss he sustained. He lost irretrievably the support of Kanauj, which would have stood him in good stead in the impending struggle with Muhammad of Ghor.

3. The First Battle of Tarain. (*a*) *Hindu Coalition.* When Muhammad of Ghor first invaded Hindustan Proper, he found the route to Delhi barred by a formidable array of Rajput warriors; for Prithiraj, of whom it is said that he was the acknowledged leader and feudal lord of 120 Hindu chiefs, had succeeded in forming a great coalition of confederated Hindu States to oppose the dreaded advance of the fierce invaders.

(*b*) *The Battle.* The opposing armies, the forces of Islam and the Rajput clans, met at Tarain, a place situated about thirty miles from Panipat (the battle of Tarain is sometimes called the first battle of Panipat). Whilst the Muhammadan mode of fighting was to make repeated cavalry charges, so as to throw the enemy lines into confusion, the Hindus endeavoured to encircle the attacking foe by a wide flanking movement. The latter tactics were entirely successful, and the Muhammadan fighting forces were everywhere hard pressed.

At this critical juncture the impetuous Muhammadan leader was wounded, and his military career would there and then have come to an inglorious end, if his devoted attendants had not rushed to his assistance, and at the greatest peril extricated him from the turmoil of the fight. But their leader's sad plight and his precipitate flight completed the Muhammadan rout. The forces of

Islam were entirely defeated, and were pursued for forty miles by the victorious Rajputs, 1191.

4. The Second Battle of Tarain. (*a*) *Preparation.* Muhammad of Ghor was not the man to submit to defeat in quiet despair. In his own words, "Since the day of the defeat, despite external appearances, I have never slumbered with ease, or wakened but in sorrow." He therefore made ready to retrieve his losses, recover his honour, or die in the attempt.

As soon as his wounds were healed, he set to work to organise a new military expedition; and in 1193, Muhammadans and Hindus once more faced each other on the historic battlefield of India, the plains of Panipat, in the neighbourhood of Tarain.

(*b*) *The Battle.* Both Muhammadans and Hindus had recourse to their old military tactics. But this time the cavalry carried everything before them. They broke through the Rajput lines, first in one place, then in another, with the result that the Hindu infantry were thrown into disorder and confusion. This was all that Muhammad wanted, for the Rajputs were given no time to close the gaps in their lines; so the confusion gradually increased till at last it developed into a general rout. Prithiraj attempted to seek safety in flight, but he was overtaken by the pursuing Muhammadan cavalry, captured, and killed. His brother was likewise among the slain, and his followers, fleeing in every direction, were mercilessly pursued, and thousands of them were ruthlessly put to the sword.

(*c*) *Results.* The second battle of Tarain was a great triumph for the followers of Islam. As an immediate result Ajmer ceased to exist; for, together with large tracts of its surrounding territories, it was annexed by the victorious Muhammad. Moreover, the victory of

Islam sounded the death-knell of the other northern Rajput kingdoms. The annexation of Ajmer was followed by the occupation of Delhi and the subjugation of Kanauj. It is true that many of the Rajputs scorned to bend before the victorious Muhammadan leader: and the Rathors of Kanauj, swelled in number by the Rajputs of many another clan, travelled westwards, and boldly made for the deserts east of the Indus. There they founded military states, which bear their race-name, "Rajputana," to this day.[1]

III. CHARACTER SKETCH

As his namesake of Ghazni, Muhammad of Ghor was a fierce warrior whose military career, however glorious it may have been, drenched the unfortunate provinces, through which his triumphant followers passed, with the blood of their ill-fated inhabitants. How merciless he could be is easily gathered from the words spoken in his praise by the admiring historian of his age, who wrote: "He sent that refractory race (the Kokhar tribe) to hell, and set a river of the blood of those people flowing."[2]

The Muhammadan conquerors apparently thought little of the lives of their Hindu foes; they either enslaved them or put them to death. It was this pitiless policy of destruction that marked their conquest with the seal of permanency, for the Hindu survivors were so terror-stricken by the fate that had befallen their fellow-countrymen that, if they had had the means of rising against the invader, they would not have ventured to oppose him. Thus Muhammad of Ghor may be looked upon as the real founder of Muslim Power in India.

[1] Hunter, 330. [2] Quoted by Smith, *O.H.I.*, 222.

In 1206 he was himself murdered by a band of Ghakkars, a wild mountain tribe, against which he had waged pitiless warfare. With his death the connection of the house of Ghor with India came to an end, for Muhammad of Ghor had no sons to succeed him to the throne.

SUMMARY

I. Conquests

1. Anhalwara: capture of Multan and Uchch, disastrous retreat.
2. Conquest of the Punjab and Sind.
3. Defeated in the first battle of Tarain.
4. Victorious in the second battle of Tarain.
5. Conquest of Bihar, Bengal, and Bundelkhand.

II. Struggle with the Rajputs

1. Great Rajput Kingdoms in the north (Ajmer, Delhi, Kanauj).
2. Prithiraj: ruler of Delhi and Kanauj; romantic marriage.
3. Prithiraj victorious at Tarain.
4. Prithiraj defeated at Tarain.
5. Rajput kingdoms disappear.

III. Muhammad's Character

Great Warrior, merciless in his triumphs.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a summary of the conquests of Muhammad of Ghor (I).
2. Write a note on Prithiraj (II, 2-4).
3. Write a brief character sketch of Muhammad of Ghor (III).

No. 3.—THE SLAVE DYNASTY, 1206-1288

I. Kutb-ud-din, 1206-1211.
II. Aram, 1211.
III. Iltutmish, 1211-1236.
IV. Rukn-ud-din, 1236.

V. Raziyyat-ud-din, 1236-1239.
VI. Moizz-ud-din, 1239-1241.
VII. Ala-ud-din, 1241-1246.
VIII. Nasir-ud-din, 1246-1266.
IX. Balban, 1266-1286.
X. Kaikobad, 1286-1288.
XI. Infant son murdered.

Introduction. "The Empire of Delhi was founded by a slave!" so runs the well known gibe.[1] For Kutb-ud-din was appointed, by Muhammad of Ghor, Viceroy of the Indian provinces, though he was likewise a slave. After Muhammad's death, Kutb-ud-din naturally took his master's place, became Sultan of Delhi, and was the first of the Slave Kings.

Plan. The History of the Slave Dynasty is but a weary tale of ruthless warfare, followed either by the conversion or the extermination of the beaten foe. A detailed account of this endless series of cruelties serves no useful purpose. Accordingly we will be satisfied with giving biographical sketches of the most important slave rulers, and will afterwards briefly allude to the others.

I. PROMINENT SLAVE KINGS

1. Kutb-ud-din, 1206-1211. After the second battle of Tarain, Muhammad of Ghor returned to Khorasan, and appointed his slave, Kutb-ud-din, Viceroy of the newly conquered territories. Thus the latter was entrusted with the conduct of the Indian campaign. Whilst he was Viceroy, he occupied Delhi after a conflict in which the river Jumna ran red with blood; he fought victoriously against the Raja of Benares; and he brought Kanauj under the sphere of Muhammadan influence. Moreover, his generals conquered Bihar, and

[1] Steel, 105.

added the extensive province of Bengal to the ever-growing Muhammadan Empire. After Muhammad of Ghor had died, his former slave and Viceroy became the ruler of Delhi, and was the founder of the Slave Dynasty.

His reign lasted but four short years. After he had attained to the height of his ambition, he gradually sank into indolence, and we are told that he gave himself up "unaccountably to wine and pleasure." He died in 1211.

2. Iltutmish, 1211-1236. Iltutmish, also know as Altamish, was the third ruler of the Slave Dynasty. He started life in much the same way as Kutb-ud-din; for he was the latter's favourite slave. In course of time he met with rapid preferment, so that he eventually married Kutb-ud-din's daughter. He succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1211.

Rival chieftains made it necessary for him to wage a long and protracted war in order to remain in possession of his newly acquired dominions. He proved himself, however, fully equal to cope with the situation, and succeeded in subjugating the greater part of Hindustan. He died in 1236, and left behind him a numerous family, four of whom were destined to occupy the throne of Delhi with more or less success.

3. Raziyyat-ud-din, 1236-1239. In 1236 an event unheard of in the annals of Muhammadan History occurred. A woman was raised to the throne. This woman was Raziyyat-ud-din, Altamish's daughter, also known as Sultana Rezia.

Sultana Rezia's promotion to the throne did not come as a complete surprise to her subjects. Already during her father's life she had, during one of his prolonged absences from the kingdom, successfully played the part of regent. But though in her father's opinion she had

a man's head and heart, and though she tried to win the good will of her warlike subjects by changing her skirts and veil for a tunic and a cap, as the men used to wear, yet she failed. Her sex was too much for her warlike subjects, who finally abandoned her.

She made a last attempt to remain in possession of the throne of Delhi by marrying one of the nobles who had been the leader of the rebellion against her. But this measure proved fatal. Her husband was forthwith abandoned by his former friends and allies, who rose up in arms against him and at whose hands he was killed together with Sultana Rezia.

Before dismissing the interesting history of this Queen, we may mention the highly favourable judgment passed on her by the Muhammadan Chronicler. "Rezia Begum," says Ferishta, "was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes; and those who scrutinise her actions will find in her no fault but that she was a woman."

4. Nasir-ud-din, 1246-1266. He was the eighth representative of the Slave Dynasty, and a son of Altamish. Even after he had ascended the throne, his life presented a strange contrast to that of the other Slave Kings. He was a scholar, and defrayed all the expenses of royalty by copying books. He has also been called "the Royal Fakir"; for he lived like a dervish, and kept neither attendants nor servants about him. His noble example was followed by the queen, who is said to have performed all the household duties.

But it would be a mistake to believe that the Royal Fakir was either weak or cowardly. There were times when he changed the pen for the sword. Thus, for example, he marched against the Ghakkars, and inflicted exemplary punishment upon them, because they

had taken service with, and given assistance to the dreaded Moghuls, who occupied the western banks of the Indus. Moreover, he led two military expeditions against the Rajputs, who, taking advantage of the weakness and helplessness for which several Slave Kings were conspicuous, had taken up arms in the hope of shaking off the hateful Muhammadan yoke. But these hopes did not materialise ; Nasir-ud-din was more than a match for them. Thousands of Rajputs died on the battlefield, and many more were put to death, while the others were reduced to slavery. Thus he succeeded in maintaining in their entirety the territories over which he ruled during twenty years. He died in 1466.

II. THE OTHER SLAVE KINGS

As regards the other Slave Kings they hardly deserve mention, for they were but pleasure-loving and cruel men, an evil breed of debauchees and fanatics. Gambling and drinking, and other pastimes of a much more doubtful character, held an important part in their lives.

The last ruling monarch of the Slave Dynasty had become a paralytic, and as he lay one day helpless on his bed of suffering, had his brains beaten out with bludgeons, and was so battered with blows that he was disfigured past all recognition. His infant son shortly afterwards shared his father's fate, and was likewise murdered.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief biographical sketch of the Founder of the Slave Dynasty (II, 1).

2. Write short notes on Altamish, Sultana Rezia, and Nasir-ud-din (II, 2-4).

3. Justify the statement that, with a few exceptions, the rulers of the Slave Dynasty were worthless men (III).

No. 4.—THE KHILJI DYNASTY, 1290-1321

I. Jalal-ud-din, 1290-1296.
II. Ala-ud-din, 1296-1316.
III. Kutb-ud-din, 1316-1321.

I. JALAL-UD-DIN

The Founder, 1290–1296

Plan. After the infant son of the last Slave King had been murdered, a certain Firoz Shah, a high official in the State, became ruler of Delhi, and assumed the title of Jalal-ud-din. We will speak of his reign under the following heading: "The Unsettled State of the Kingdom under an Inefficient Ruler."

1. **Unsettled State of the Kingdom.** The rule of the Slave Kings had on the whole been highly detrimental to Muhammadan Power in India. For, in spite of the wholesale and repeated executions practised by them, most of the Slave Kings proved such worthless monarchs that confusion and disorder made it possible for the Hindus partly to recover from the disasters that were so constantly heaped upon them by their Muslim rulers. Thus it came about that, when Jalal-ud-din ascended the throne of Delhi, the affairs of the kingdom were in a very unsettled state.

2. **Inefficient Ruler.** During Jalal-ud-din's reign, which lasted about six years, things went from bad to worse, for the new monarch was hopelessly unfit to cope with the situation. First of all, the year of his accession found him an old man of about seventy. Accordingly it is but natural that he was lacking in energy, will-power, and strength of character. What made matters worse was that a considerable number of his subjects viewed his accession with feelings akin to disgust, so

that the new ruler did not even venture to reside at Delhi.

His son-in-law Ala-ud-din, profiting by the old man's weakness, scarcely acknowledged his authority. Finally he succeeded in gaining possession of the King's person, and, on the occasion of a so-called friendly interview, he cruelly murdered him.

SUMMARY

1. Unsettled state of the kingdom : the inefficiency of the Slave Kings caused disaffection and discontent.

2. Inefficiency : age, opposition of the nobles, Ala-ud-din's ambition.

QUESTION

1. Justify the following statement : When Jalal-ud-din ascended the throne of Delhi, a strong ruler was needed ; but Jalal-ud-din was both weak and inefficient.

II. ALA-UD-DIN

The Iron-willed, 1296-1316

Antecedents. Before he ascended the throne, Ala-ud-din had won both notoriety and fame. He was already famous, because he had led a brilliant military expedition into Malva and, carried on the wings of victory, had swooped down upon the western provinces of the Deccan. His victorious armies swept through Berar and Khandesh, and afterwards made for Deogarh. Plunder and not conquest seems to have been the object of this extensive military raid, and the result was prodigious. He returned home loaded with pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pieces of silk, and other rich plunder.

But if he was famous as a military leader, he was also notorious as a brutal and ungrateful son-in-law. The aged Jalal-ud-din trusted and loved him, yet this

strong, fierce soldier in the prime of his manhood, resented all the more such a weak and tottering old man upon the throne of Delhi. With sovereign disregard for the laws of God and men, he cruelly murdered the aged ruler, and proclaimed himself Sultan.

Plan

I. Warlike Achievements.
II. Character Sketch.

1. The Warrior. (*a*) *Final Conquest of Gujarat*, 1297. Soon after his accession Ala-ud-din determined to achieve what Muhammad of Ghor had attempted in vain, *viz.* the final conquest of Gujarat. His attempt was completely successful, for the then ruling Raja, not venturing to make a stand against the invaders, sought safety in flight.

Kamala Devi. The Raja's wife, Kamala Devi, fell into the hands of the invaders, and was sent to Delhi. There she succeeded in winning Ala-ud-din's favour, and eventually married him. At her request the Khilji monarch gave orders to his generals that her daughter, Deval Devi, should likewise be brought to Delhi. These orders were duly carried out. In the same way as the mother had found favour with the ruler of the realm, so the daughter made such an impression on Ala-ud-din's eldest son that he shortly afterwards married her. This double marriage is of great historical importance ; for it shows that a certain intermixture was gradually taking place between Hindus and Muhammadans.

(*b*) *Fight with the Moghuls*, 1297-1305. Ala-ud-din had likewise to face the Moghul danger. The Moghuls were fierce fighting men. Their original home was apparently in the furthermost east of Mongolia, in the bleak and barren districts high above the north of China.

With the wandering instinct innate in all nomadic tribes, they travelled westwards, and passed in course of time over the high region of Pamir, where the river Oxus has its source, till they finally settled down, and established the kingdom of Transoxiana.

During Ala-ud-din's reign marauding hordes of Moghuls made five or six invasions into India. The most serious Moghul invasion probably took place in 1303. On that occasion they advanced to the very gates of Delhi, which they besieged for two months. Ala-ud-din realised that he had either to repulse them or to yield to them. Accordingly he mustered all his available troops, and succeeded in defeating them.

The Moghuls were forced to beat a precipitate retreat, and Ala-ud-din took care to bring home to them that he had no use for Moghul invaders, or even for Moghul settlers in the Empire. Thus, for example, he ruthlessly exterminated a colony of Moghul converts, who had settled in villages near Delhi. All the male settlers, whose number is estimated to have been between 15,000 and 30,000, perished in the fearful massacre.

(c) *Fight with the Rajputs. Causes.* The struggle with the Rajputs may partly be accounted for by Ala-ud-din's eagerness to play the cruel game of war. But at the same time it must not be forgotten that next to the Moghuls the Rajputs were his most formidable enemies.

Leading Events. The struggle with the Rajputs is noteworthy for the double attack on Ranthambor and on Chitor.

Ranthambor. In 1299 Ala-ud-din despatched an army to capture the famous Rajput fortress. Accordingly his forces besieged Ranthambor, but were compelled to fall back before the determined resistance of the Rajputs,

who on one occasion made a successful sally, and routed their enemies.

This failure did not discourage the Khilji monarch. He himself took over the command of the army, and renewed the siege. For more than a year the fortress held out ; but in 1300 it finally fell. Ala-ud-din did not show mercy to his vanquished enemies ; and terrible was the retribution he exacted from the defenders. The Raja with his family and the entire garrison were ruthlessly put to the sword, 1300.

Chitor. After Ranthambor had fallen, Ala-ud-din determined to make the proud city of Chitor share the same miserable fate.

First Attack on Chitor. This was not the first time he led his men against the Rajput stronghold. Even before he ascended the throne of Delhi, his treacherous dealings with Chitor had caused his name to be held in execration by every Rajput, and had furnished the race with its ultimate inviolable oath, " By the sin of the sack of Chitor."

The city of Chitor was destined to fall more than once into its enemies' hands, and to be sacked by them. Of these sacks the Rajputs enumerate *three and a half* ; [1] and Ala-ud-din's first attempt is the *half* ; for, though the city was not stormed, its best and bravest warriors fought with the greatest courage, and faced and met death with characteristic Rajput bravery.

Cause. According to Chand, the Hindu Bard, this first attempt was inspired by Ala-ud-din's eagerness to gain possession of Padmani. When Ala-ud-din threatened to attack the city if his request was not complied with, Bhimsi, Padmani's husband, who was the protector of the young Rana, Lakumsi, during the latter's

[1] Tod, i. 246.

minority, was so little impressed by the threat that the Sultan thought it best to modify his request. Accordingly he said that he would be satisfied if he were allowed to see, if not Padmani herself, at least her reflection in a mirror.

To this Bhimsi consented ; and Ala-ud-din entered into the stronghold of Chitor, and was shown what he so eagerly sought to behold. Then Bhimsi, trusting in Ala-ud-din's honour, accompanied him back to his camp. But Ala-ud-din's honour was virtually non-existent. As soon as he had reached his camp, he ordered Bhimsi to be seized, and sent a message to Chitor to the effect that Bhimsi would be instantly killed if Padmani was not delivered there and then to him.

The Fight. Apparently this threat had its desired effect ; for from the stronghold of Chitor there issued a procession of seven hundred litters ; Padmani and her women offered themselves up to save Bhimsi. They came into the Muslim camp ; and Ala-ud-din was already gloating over the success of his clever ruse, when suddenly the litters opened, and there sprang from them warriors, who joined the litter-bearers, and with drawn swords made havoc among the surprised followers of Ala-ud-din. They succeeded in rescuing Bhimsi ; but in the battle that took place many a Rajput youth breathed his last.

But Rajputs knew how to die, and their women were equal to them in courage. After the warriors of the rescue-party had returned to Chitor, the widows of the slain sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyre. One widow, as she was ready to immolate herself, called aloud to the page who had followed her slain husband in the fight :

" Boy, tell me, ere I go, how bore himself my lord ? "

"As a reaper of the harvest of battle! I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain, whereon, a barbarian his pillow, he sleeps ringed about by his foes."

"Yet once again, oh boy, tell me how my lord bore himself?"

"Oh mother, who can tell his deeds? He left no foe to dread or to admire him." She smiled farewell to the boy, and, adding "My lord will chide my delay," sprang into the flames.[1]

Second Attempt. Cause. The memory of the defeat which Ala-ud-din had suffered continued to rankle in his heart, and in 1303, before Chitor had fully recovered from the loss of her bravest sons, Ala-ud-din marched in person against the celebrated hill-fort of Mewar, and laid siege to that hitherto unassailable and impregnable city.

The Siege. Chitor was rich in provisions; her natural defences defied every attempt at storming its rocky walls, and her defenders were among the bravest of Rajputana's soldiers. Accordingly, Ala-ud-din determined to raise a huge pile of earth, which should overtop the city built on a rock, so that his destructive engines of war might hurl their messages of death into the doomed city.

As he was immensely rich, he could afford to pay in gold for every basket of earth brought to raise the pile. During the whole of the long and hot season, whilst the besiegers lay around the city, night and day, and day and night, swarms of labourers carried an endless succession of baskets of earth to the chosen spot; and little by little the pile rose higher and higher, till at last it overtopped the rocky hill-fort.

[1] Tod, i. 246.

Meanwhile the defenders were not idle. The story has it that the Rana, who had twelve sons, beheld in a lurid dream Vyan-Mata, the protecting goddess of his race. "I am hungry," she wailed, "I am hungry for the blood of kings. Let me drink the blood of twelve of those who have worn the diadem, and my city may yet be saved."

Accordingly eleven sons of the Rana were successively raised to the throne; and every one of them sallied forth at the head of a little band of heroic followers, and laid down his life for the sake of the beloved city. But, when the turn of his youngest son had come, the Rana's courage failed him, he could not bring himself to sacrifice the last representative of his family, and, after allowing his boy to make his escape, he offered himself as the twelfth victim.

As the Rana and his followers prepared themselves to face and meet death on the battlefield, the funeral pyre was lit in a great subterranean vault; and a long procession of women walked to their doom with dry eyes and smiling lips. Queens and servant-maids, old dames and little girls, the whole womanhood of Chitor filed into the sombre vaults, resolutely turned their backs upon the pleasant light of day, and marched into the darkness, to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.

After the doors had been closed upon the women of Chitor, the warriors put on the saffron robe; and, opening wide the city gates, they issued forth, and fought. Once more they played the part of reapers on the gory battlefield, and with battle-axe and spear wrought havoc among the besieging troops, till at last covered with wounds they fell, surrounded by their wounded and dying foes.

Ala-ud-din was victorious; but when he entered Chitor to seize the spoil, he found nought but a silent city.

Campaign in the Deccan. Ala-ud-din had not forgotten the scene of his first military exploits, the Deccan. Love of fame and lust for plunder once more prompted him to pay a visit to the south. He entrusted the leadership of the military expedition to Malik Kafur, his infamous favourite.

Malik Kafur proceeded through Malwa, passed into Khandesh, and next marched to Deogarh. Before he besieged this city, he overran the greater part of the Maratha country; and such was the panic caused by his victorious onrush that the ruler of Deogarh surrendered without striking a blow, and accompanied the victorious general back to Delhi. He there made his submission to Ala-ud-din, was received in the latter's friendship, and paid tribute to the Sultan of Delhi.

The ruler of Deogarh remained faithful to his suzerain, but his son attempted to shake off the Muhammadan yoke. His attempts ended in dismal failure; his army was routed and he himself was slain. The whole of the Deccan was subsequently overrun; the various kingdoms were partly subjugated; and everywhere was plundering on a gigantic scale, whilst the usual dreadful cruelties were inflicted on the unfortunate inhabitants.

2. **Character Sketch.** Ala-ud-din was a great warrior, but his military genius was sadly marred by monstrous vices and fiendish cruelty. First of all his succession to the throne was marked by the foulest murder in Indian History, and that means much;[1] moreover, after murdering Jalal-ud-din, he ruthlessly killed all the

[1] Steel, 118.

nobles who had served under him, not sparing even the innocent women and children.[1]

He seems to have been possessed of a maddening craving to shed human blood. Thus time after time he ordered the Moghul prisoners to be sent to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood.[2] The Muhammadan historian, Ferishta, states that on one occasion 9,000 were thus slain. The same cruelty was displayed in his attitude towards the Hindus. According to the historian Zia-ud-din, Ala-ud-din requested his advisers to draw up rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus and depriving them of their wealth and property which fostered disaffection and rebellion. He claimed from them one half of the produce of the land as revenue; and blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment, and chains were all employed to enforce payment.[3]

Moreover, intoxicated by his military success, his pride rose to the height of folly. He had himself called a Second Alexander, and came forward as the founder of a new religion and creed. He was absolutely illiterate, yet he did not allow even the most learned of his advisers to contradict him.[4] Towards the end of his life success no longer attended him; intemperance had sapped his bodily health, and as the end drew near, he became more and more cruel and more and more despotic, while all around him rebellion was rife. He died in January 1316, and throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom none mourned for the deceased monarch.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 232.
[2] Elphinstone, 394.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 334.
[4] Elphinstone, 398.

SUMMARY

I. Before his Accession

(*a*) Military fame (Malwa, Berar, Khandesh, Deogarh).
(*b*) Notoriety : murder of Jalal-ud-din.

II. After his Accession

Conquered Gujarat, defeat of six Moghul invasions, capture of Ranthambor, of Chitor, campaign in the Deccan.

III. Character

(*a*) Great Warrior.
(*b*) Cruel (Jalal-ud-din, Moghuls).
(*c*) Proud (Second Alexander, new creed).
(*d*) Intemperance.

IV. Chitor

(*a*) The Half-Sack of Chitor : Padmani's beauty, Ala-ud-din's treachery. Rajput stratagem and its success.

(*b*) Second Sack of Chitor, Investment of the City, self-sacrifice of the royal family, the Johur, the final conflict.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that Ala-ud-din was a great warrior (II, 1, *a*, *c*).

2. Explain how Ala-ud-din's military exploits were marred by cruelty and other vices (II, 2).

3. Narrate in your own words the story of Padmani (II, 1, *c*).

4. Describe the capture of Chitor (II, 1, *c*).

5. Give an idea of the bravery displayed by Rajput men and women (II, 1, *c*).

III. KUTB-UD-DIN

The Effeminate, 1316-1321

Mubarak Khan, also known in history as Kutb-ud-din, succeeded his father to the throne of Delhi. His reign lasted about five years, but his name does not deserve more than a passing mention. After four years and five months, spent in drinking, debauchery, and

pleasure, he was murdered by Khusru Khan, his favourite, who usurped the throne, but was a few months afterwards defeated and beheaded by Ghazi Malik, the first ruler of the Tughlak Dynasty, 1321.

No. 5.—THE TUGHLAK DYNASTY, 1321-1414

Ghiyas-ud-din, 1321-1325.
Muhammad-bin, 1325-1351.
Firoz Shah, 1351-1388.
Remaining Rulers, 1388-1414.

I. GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLAK

The Good, 1321-1325

After Ghazi Malik had defeated and killed Khusru Khan, he was elected by his compeers to fill the vacant throne and assumed the title of Ghiyas-ud-din. His short reign forms a pleasing contrast to that of the last of the Khiljis.

His very accession to the throne, as narrated by Ferishta, favourably impresses the reader. As they presented him with the keys of Delhi, he cried aloud : " I am but like one of you. I only unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression and to rid the world of a monster. If therefore any member of the royal family remain, let him be brought, that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. But if none of the race of kings have escaped the bloody hands of usurpation, let the most worthy be selected ; and I swear to abide by the choice." [1] Forthwith the people laid hold of him, and carried him to the throne and hailed him as Shah Jahan, the conqueror of the world ; but he was satisfied with the more modest title of Ghiyas-ud-din.

[1] Steel, 119.

His subsequent conduct amply rewarded the people for the confidence they had placed in him. He forthwith set to work to put an end to the state of confusion and disorder which prevailed in the kingdom. Furthermore, he strengthened the frontiers of the State so as to be ready to ward off the great danger which loomed more and more darkly on the horizon, the danger of the Moghul invasions.

His reign was brought to an untimely end, for he perished the victim of a miserable conspiracy, in which his own son, Juna Khan, whom he had chosen as his successor to the throne, was deeply implicated. He died in February 1325.

II. MUHAMMAD-BIN TUGHLAK, 1325-1351

Plan

1. His wisdom.
2. His folly.
3. The ruin of Sultanate.

1. Muhammad's Wisdom. According to Elphinstone, Muhammad, the son of Ghiyas-ud-din, was the most accomplished and eloquent man of his times. His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, are admired for their elegance. His memory was extraordinary; and besides a thorough knowledge of logic and the philosophy of the Greeks, he was much attached to mathematics and physical science, and used himself to attend sick persons for the purpose of watching the symptoms of any extraordinary disease. He was regular in his private life to all the moral precepts of his religion.[1]

This sounds well, for according to this testimony he was a literary celebrity, a philosopher, a mathematician, a physician, a royal nurse, and a devout Muhammadan.

[1] Elphinstone, 403.

Moreover, he established, on a most liberal scale, hospitals and almshouses for widows and orphans. He also established an admirably regulated postal system throughout the country. We may therefore safely conclude that he was a man of many parts, and that his accomplishments were greatly superior to those of the other Muhammadan rulers whose doings we had occasion to record.

2. Muhammad's Folly. But his exceptional accomplishments were sadly marred by his extraordinary folly, which has been described as a perversion of judgment amounting to insanity.[1] To begin with, so little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures that one might have supposed that he had made it the object of his life to exterminate the human species. On more than one occasion, when he went out hunting, he suddenly changed his mind, and determined to hunt men and not beasts. The helpless and innocent peasants were then driven in by the beaters; and the royal huntsman practised his skill with spear and javelin upon his fellow creatures.[2]

Again, the measures he adopted brought about the ruin of thousands of his subjects. On one occasion the citizens of Delhi ventured to criticise his policy, and forthwith he decided to destroy their city. He first of all spent reckless sums of money on building a new city in the Deccan, which he called Daulatabad, the Abode of Wealth. Next he ordered all the citizens of Delhi to leave Delhi, and start on a forty days' journey to the new capital. All the inhabitants left, abandoning all that they possessed, and Delhi which spread over four or five cos (from seven to ten miles) became a perfect desert.

[1] Elphinstone, 404–405. [2] *Ibid.*

At other times he embarked upon whimsical schemes that were doomed to end in failure, and wreaked his vengeance on the innocent victims who had done their best to carry out his foolhardy designs. He despatched a force of 100,000 cavalry across the Himalayan ranges in order to conquer China. The crazy enterprise hopelessly failed. Many of the soldiers died of cold; others were killed by the Chinese; and the few that returned were massacred by their cruel master.

3. **The Ruin of the Delhi Sultanate.** The result of Muhammad's insane and cruel rule showed itself before long. Even before he died, rebellion was rife in the country. There was a revolt in Bengal, 1338, and there were rebellions in the Deccan, 1340. Moreover, the Moghuls invaded India, 1347, and had to be bought off. Besides this, Muhammad tried to escape insolvency by coining copper coins at silver value. Thus he upset the whole financial system of the realm, plunging hundreds of thousands into poverty. The result was that large tracts of land were uncultivated and that famine swooped down upon the country. Whole families and villages fled to the woods to subsist upon rapine and murder.

Thus Muhammad succeeded in bringing about the ruin of the Sultanate of Delhi. He died in March 1351; and though he had sent so many to a cruel death, he himself died in his bed. The people were at last freed from their Sultan.

III. FIROZ SHAH

The Restorer, 1351-1388

Plan. Muhammad was succeeded by his nephew, Firoz Shah. In speaking of his reign we will first point out the efforts he made to restore order in the

kingdom. Next we will indicate why these efforts failed.

Attempts at Restoring Order. Firoz Shah made earnest and honest efforts to restore peace and prosperity in the distracted provinces over which he ruled. Thus, for example, in order to combat famine and to encourage agriculture he planned and carried out extensive irrigation schemes; many an old canal in India dates from the time of Firoz Tughlak.

He also introduced reforms in the administration of the kingdom. He put an end to the pitiless persecution of the Hindus, and suppressed the cruel practice of mutilation and torture. "The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musalmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men."[1] These words he caused to be engraved on the mosque he built at Firozabad (Delhi) together with other resolutions equally commendable.

He likewise promised to repeal the many vexatious taxes; reduced the sovereign's share of the war booty from four-fifths to one-fifth, and increased that of the soldiers from one-fifth to four-fifths. He also determined to pension for life all soldiers invalided by wounds or by age, and declared that he intended to punish all public servants convicted of corruption as well as persons offering bribes. We may therefore conclude that Firoz Shah was a good and kind ruler, who had the welfare of his subjects truly at heart.

2. Failure of his Attempts. But all his attempts at bringing order out of chaos failed. The following are the chief causes of his failure. First of all he reaped the harvest of twenty-six years of maladministration.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 249.

Disorder and confusion, discontent and disaffection had spread all over the kingdom, and Firoz Shah was not the man to cope with the situation. He was singularly lacking in military talent ; and it would have required a soldier with an iron hand to hold the disrupting provinces together.

During his reign a rebellion broke out in Bengal, 1313, which became practically independent. Moreover, he was on two occasions unsuccessful in asserting his supremacy over the ruler of Sind. These failures were the beginning of the break-up of the Sultanate of Delhi, for shortly afterwards smaller provinces also rebelled.

Nor must it be forgotten that even as an administrator Firoz Shah was not exceptionally clever. For it cannot be denied that he encouraged slave-raiding on a gigantic scale ; and, even though the slaves were well cared for, it was a policy that caused discontent, and adversely affected agriculture, inasmuch as many families were thus deprived of the necessary hands for ploughing the fields, sowing and harvesting.

Again, he made at times a display of religious intolerance that cost the lives of many victims, as both Shias and Hindus sadly experienced. Nor did he abolish the hated capitation tax, the Jizya. He reduced it for the common Hindu labourer, but this indulgence did not win for him the good will of the Hindus ; for at the same time the Brahmans, who had hitherto been excused from paying the tax, were subjected to it.

Thus it came about that the greatness of the difficulties he had to face, his lack of military efficiency, and his administrative blunders, such as slave-raiding and the imposition of the Jizya upon the Brahmans, brought about the failure of his attempts to restore order. He died in 1388.

IV. REMAINING TUGHLAK RULERS, 1388-1414

Firoz Shah was followed in six years by no fewer than five kings, whose respective and sole pursuits seem to have been to make the Delhi Sultanate fall to pieces.

During the next four years, 1394-1397, two rival monarchs ruled in Delhi, and " day by day battles were fought between these two kings, who were like the two kings at a game of chess." One of these rival kings was called Muhammad. He had to retreat from Delhi during Timur's invasion, but afterwards returned there. He was the last representative of the House of Tughlak and died after a nominal reign of twenty years, 1394-1414.

SUMMARY

I. Ghiyas-ud-din

(*a*) Restored order, strengthened the frontiers.

(*b*) Was murdered by his son.

II. Muhammad

(*a*) Wisdom : literary celebrity, philosopher, mathematician, physician, royal nurse, devout Muhammadan.

(*b*) Folly : man-hunt, punishments, oppression of Hindus, evacuation of Delhi, China Campaign.

(*c*) Ruin of the Kingdom : revolt in Bengal, rebellion in the Deccan, Moghuls bought off, financial chaos.

III. Firoz Shah

(*a*) Attempted to restore order : agriculture, conciliation of Hindus, bribery punished, soldiers paid.

(*b*) Failure : the disorder was too great, lack of military skill, blunders (slaves, Jizya).

QUESTIONS

1. Show that Muhammad in spite of all his accomplishments brought about the ruin of the Delhi Sultanate (II, 1-3).

2. Write a character sketch of Muhammad (II, 1-2).

3. What efforts did Firoz Tughlak make to restore order, and why did these efforts end in failure ? (III, 1-2)

V. TIMUR'S INVASION, 1388-1389

1. Timur. Who was this Timur, who has been surnamed the Lame Firebrand of the World? He was born in 1336; thirty years later he became king of Samarkand. Shortly after ascending the throne, he started on a career of conquests unprecedented for their magnitude and barbarous ferocity. He was a man of incredible energy. In his invasion of India he had to cross the high ranges of the Hindu Kush where in one place of his passage he had to be lowered by a rope and scaffolding down a precipice 150 cubits in depth. He attempted the operation five times, before he got down to the bottom.[1]

His strong determination of purpose may be easily gathered from the record, which he himself has written of his reasons for advancing into India and of his experiences there:

"I ordered 1,000 swift-footed camels, 1,000 swift-footed horses, 1,000 swift-footed infantry to bring me word respecting the princes of India. I learned that they were at variance with each other. The conquest seemed to me easy, though my soldiers thought it dangerous.

"Resolved to undertake it, and make myself master of the Indian Empire.

"Did so."[2]

We may therefore safely conclude that history hardly presents a more terrible personality than that of this fierce fighting man, who was destined to inflict upon the land of India untold misery and indescribable destruction.

2. Timur's Raid. Timur, as is evident from his own words, profited by the anarchy prevailing in the

[1] Newman, i. 33. [2] Steel, 124.

Sultanate of Delhi to march into India. He himself thought that on account of the general state of disorder and confusion the conquest would be easy. Nor was he mistaken in his surmise ; for Timur's raid can hardly be called a conquest. In the words of Ferishta, the Indians yielded their necks to the smiter, without making one brave effort to save their country, their lives, or their property.

Having crossed the Indus with a force of 90,000 cavalry, he made a first display of the thoroughness of his methods of devastation by utterly destroying the city of Talamba, situated at the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi. The inhabitants were either massacred or enslaved. He then proceeded on his way, killing and slaying men and women, destroying and burning every village he came across, till he finally came to the Rajput stronghold of Bhatnair.

Here he gave full vent to his unbridled ferocity. Men, women and children were slain, and the city was plundered. In the words of Ferishta : "The scene was awful, and the inhabitants were cut off to a man." Moreover, as the Rajputs with their characteristic bravery had put up a stout resistance, Timur was so exasperated that he ordered the whole place to be reduced to ashes.

Finally he made his way to Delhi. On the 15th of January he drew up his army in battle array against the defenders of the city. But the battle was of short duration. The long lines of elephants, once their drivers had been unseated, were thrown into disorder, and spread confusion in the ranks of the defenders. Almost without striking a blow Timur was, in the evening of that very day, within the gates of Delhi, and next morning he was proclaimed emperor.

But the capture of Delhi was not to end so peacefully. It is not known whether Timur himself gave orders to assault the populace so as to provoke reprisals, or whether the pillaging soldiery got out of hand, and fell foul of the inhabitants. One thing is highly probable—that provocation was not given by the terror-stricken inhabitants of the doomed city. Nevertheless a collision did occur between the Moghuls and the inhabitants of Delhi, and the order to sack and slay went forth. For five days Delhi was a perfect shambles, reeking with blood; for men, women and children were indiscriminately massacred in their houses and in the streets of the city. Moreover, the city was plundered of all its wealth.

When he had thus finished his task, Timur returned by the Kabul road to Samarkand, carrying away with him an incredible amount of loot and plunder.

3. **Results.** Timur left behind him devastation and ruin. Tens of thousands of innocent people had been ruthlessly killed; many cities and countless villages had been reduced to ashes; large tracts of field had been laid waste, and the administration of the provinces, through which he had passed, had been completely thrown out of gear.

Moreover, such was the amount of wealth that he carried away with him, that gold and silver was no longer procurable, so that it was impossible to provide the country with a metallic currency. The result was that silver coins reached an unprecedented value. Thus, for example, we are told that if a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Agra, one bahloli (a coin not worth more than three annas) would cover all the expenses for himself, his horse, and his four attendants.

Finally pestilence and famine swooped down upon the land, and it took Delhi more than half a century to

recover, and then only in part, from the appalling devastation wrought by Timur.

The history of the Sultanate of Delhi after Timur's departure is devoid of historical interest; it is nothing but the history of devastated India, 1389-1450.

1389-1414. Muhammad Tughlak, who had fled to Gujarat, as soon as Timur's army advanced upon Delhi, returned to the city after the Moghul conqueror had departed from it. He continued to exercise a nominal sovereignty, and died in 1414.

1414-1450. After Muhammad's death the kingdom, which had practically been reduced to the city with its surrounding fields, was administered by Khizir Khan, a former governor of the Punjab, and by his three successors. These princes called themselves Sayyids. But after a lapse of half a century Delhi little by little recovered from the losses which it had sustained, and took once more its place amongst the kingdoms of India. It was then ruled by Afghan monarchs belonging to the house of Lodi, 1450.

No. 6.—THE LODI DYNASTY, 1450-1526

I. Bahlol Lodi, 1450-1489.
II. Sikandar Lodi, 1489-1517.
III. Ibrahim Lodi, 1517-1526.

I. BAHLOL LODI, 1450-1489

Bahlol Lodi was a Pathan, or Afghan, who was originally governor of the Punjab and now profited by the downfall of Delhi to set himself up as an independent ruler. In 1450 he seized the throne of Delhi, and during his reign succeeded in restoring something of Delhi's former prestige. Thus for example, he waged war with the ruler of Jaunpur, whom he defeated. Afterwards

he appointed his own son, Barbak Shah, viceroy. He died in 1489.

II. SIKANDAR LODI, 1489-1517

After Bahlol's death his son, Sikandar Lodi, succeeded to the throne of Delhi. Sikandar continued the work of reconstruction which his father had begun. He took advantage of the expulsion of his brother, Barbak Shah, from Jaunpur to renew the war with that State, was successful in his military attempts, and annexed Jaunpur. He likewise made Behar share Jaunpur's fate and levied tribute from Tirhut. He died in 1517.

III. IBRAHIM LODI, 1517-1526

Sikandar was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Lodi, whose reign was uneventful. He did not succeed in making friends with the great Afghan nobles, so that the kingdom became once more the victim of civil strife. The opposition of his nobles finally reached its height, when one of the most powerful of them, Daulat Khan Lodi, invited Babar, the Moghul, to come to his help against the ruler of Delhi. The invitation was gladly accepted. Babar advanced into India, got rid of Daulat Khan Lodi, defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, and permanently established himself at Delhi, where he was proclaimed emperor, 1526.

QUESTIONS

Give a brief sketch of the leading events that took place from the year of Timur's departure to the year of Babar's accession.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

No. 1—CAUSES OF MUHAMMADAN SUCCESS

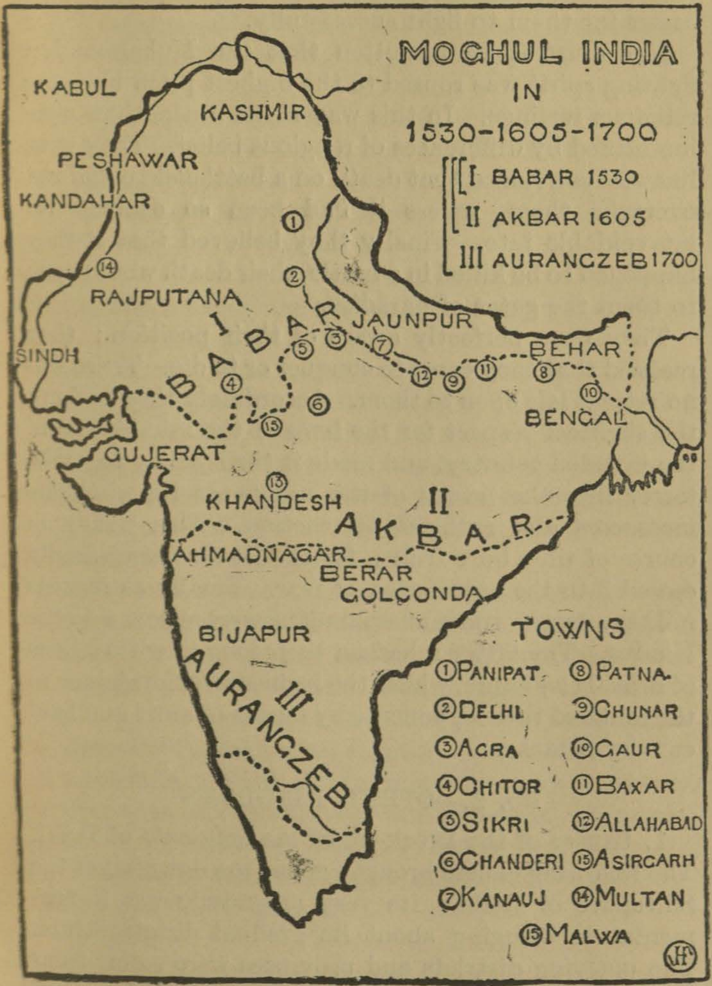
THE Muhammadan conquest of India was, from a military point of view, a most successful venture for the followers of Islam. The question therefore naturally presents itself: Why did the Muhammadans win the day on so many battlefields of India?

First of all it cannot possibly be said that the Hindus were time after time defeated, because they were lacking in courage. Their defeat was the result of many other circumstances.

To begin with, on many occasions the Hindus failed both to combine their forces, and to oppose an united front to the invaders. On the contrary the invaders formed a strong and united front of fierce fighting men under the iron discipline of a leader whose word was law with his followers.

In the second place the Muhammadans had an undeniable advantage over the Hindus. They were the strong and sturdy sons of the cold northern regions, their frames were inured to bodily fatigue and capable of exertions which the more slightly built Hindus could not stand.

Besides this the Muhammadans knew nothing of the restrictions of caste rules concerning food, occupation and social intercourse; so that they were not divided from one another by social barriers, but lived in a state


MOGHUL INDIA
IN
1530-1605-1700
I BABAR 1530
II AKBAR 1605
III AURANGZEB 1700
KABUL
KASHMIR
PESHAWAR
KANDAHAR
RAJPUTANA
SINDH
JAUNPUR
BEHAR
BENGAL
GUJERAT
KHANDESH
AHMADNAGAR
BERAR
GOLCONDA
BIJAPUR
I BABAR
II AKBAR
III AURANGZEB
TOWNS
① PANIPAT
② DELHI
③ AGRA
④ CHITOR
⑤ SIKRI
⑥ CHANDERI
⑦ KANAUJ
⑧ PATNA
⑨ CHUNAR
⑩ GAUR
⑪ BAXAR
⑫ ALLAHABAD
⑬ ASIRGARH
⑭ MULTAN
⑮ MALWA

of common good fellowship, which naturally made it easier for them to fight successfully.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Muhammadan fighting spirit was roused to the highest pitch by fierce religious feelings. In this way racial antipathies were intensified by differences of religious belief. They were likewise convinced that death on a battlefield could not overtake them, unless it had been so decreed by unavoidable fate. Finally they believed that if they happened to be killed in a battle, their death would open to them the gates of paradise.

They were perfectly aware of their position; they realised that they came to conquer or to die. There was no retreat left open to them. Accordingly they had not the slightest respect for the lives of the inhabitants of the invaded country, and made it their policy to strike terror into the hearts of the conquered by wholesale massacres and ruthless destruction. This policy in course of time bore fruit; for the Hindus were finally cowed into the submission of fear. Finally as regards military tactics the Muhammadans were superior to the Hindus. The latter relied on their long unwieldy lines of armed elephants, whilst the former wrought havoc in the ranks of their opponents by means of swift and bold cavalry attacks.

No. 2.—OTHER KINGDOMS

1. Causes of the Break-up of the Sultanate of Delhi. The following causes brought about the downfall of the Sultanate of Delhi. Its very magnitude was instrumental in bringing about its gradual disintegration. The outlying districts and provinces were so far from Delhi that the authority exercised over them was to a large extent nominal in character. In the course of

years occasions arose which led to rebellions ; and more than once the leader of the insurrectionary movement was the governor appointed by Delhi to rule over the province.

At other times the ruler of Delhi would send one of his trusted servants, in command of an army, to subjugate the rebellious province. But the servant did not always prove faithful ; and there were generals, who as soon as they were beyond the control of the central authority, either sided with the rebels, or fought against them in order to lay the foundation of an independent state.

Thus many of the potentates who ruled at Delhi hastened the break-up of their empire by their worthlessness and cruelty. Finally Timur's invasion shook the Empire of Delhi to its very foundations. All these causes brought about the gradual break-up of the Delhi Sultanate, and the result was the formation of a number of independent kingdoms.

2. Various Kingdoms. In course of time the following independent kingdoms were set up, to the north of the Vindhya Range: Sind, Multan, Kashmir, Gujarat, Malwa, Rajputana, Jaunpur and Bengal. All these kingdoms with the exception of Rajputana were under the sway of Muhammadan rulers.

To the south of the Vindhya Range there were the kingdoms of Khandesh, of the Bahmani Dynasty (subsequently split up into five Sultanates, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bijapur, Bidar and Golkonda), Gondwana, Telingana and Vijayanagar.

CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMADAN RULE IN THE DECCAN

I. THE BAHMANI KINGDOM, 1347-1526

Plan

1. The Kingdom.
2. The Sultans.
3. The People.
4. The Bahmani Legacy.

1. The Kingdom. The Bahmani Kingdom was first established in 1347. It extended from the Bombay Konkan to the Wainganga, and from the Tapti to the Tungabhadra and the Kistna; the greater part of it was formed by the modern Hyderabad State.

It was called the Bahmani kingdom, because its founder claimed to be a descendant from an early Persian king of the name of Bahman. This founder was a Turki officer of the Delhi sultanate. He profited by the dissensions of which the Delhi Sultanate was the victim during the insane and cruel reign of Muhammad-Bin-Tughlak, occupied the town of Daulatabad, and became the first sultan of the Bahmani dynasty. He is known in history as Ala-ud-din I. At first the capital of the new kingdom was Kulbarga, but afterwards it was shifted to Bidar.

2. The Sultans. Fourteen sultans of the Bahmani dynasty ruled over the Deccan between 1347 and 1518, when the dynasty practically ended. The following

epitaph may be inscribed on the stone above their common grave:

HERE LIE
THE FOURTEEN SULTANS
OF
THE BAHMANI KINGDOM.
FIVE DIED A NATURAL DEATH,
TWO DIED FROM THE EFFECTS OF DRINK,
TWO WERE MURDERED,
TWO WERE DEPOSED AND BLINDED,
ONE WAS DEPOSED AND STRANGLED,
ONE WAS PROBABLY ASSASSINATED,
ONE DIED SUDDENLY.

This makes it plain that the Bahmani sultans lived in troublesome times, and that some of them can hardly be admired. Most of them spent their reign in waging religious warfare, either with their Hindu subjects, or with their Hindu neighbours of Vijayanagar. The details of this warfare are a weary repetition of acts of senseless savagery.

Muhammad II (1378-1397) was perhaps the best of all the Bahmani rulers, for during his reign there were neither wars nor rebellions.

Mahmud Shah (1482-1518) was practically the last sultan of Bahmani, though four other rulers are mentioned after him [1]; but these men hardly deserved the name of rulers, and in no way benefited their country. They were either murdered or deposed; and at last in 1526 the Bahmani kingdom ceased to exist.

The People. A Russian merchant who visited the country in the fifteenth century has left us the following description: " The land is overstocked with people, but

[1] Pope, 153.

those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury."[1] In other words, the happiness of a few was sought for at the cost of the incredible misery of the many. The many were as a rule the Hindu population; the few were the Muhammadan invaders. Besides being persecuted for their religion, the mass of the population suffered from the horrors of war, and on several occasions from the pangs of famine.

The Bahmani Legacy. The Bahmani rulers left little behind them to benefit posterity. The fortresses which they built are however worth while mentioning, for they were almost indestructible in those days of primitive warfare. They attest, moreover, the wealth of their builders, are not without grandeur of design, and show considerable skill of artistic workmanship.[2]

SUMMARY

The kingdom lasted from 1347 to 1526.
From 1347 to 1518 only five sultans died a natural death.
The nobles lived in luxury, the people lived in misery.
The Bahmanis built famous fortresses.

II. THE FIVE SULTANATES

Note.—Long before the death of the last Bahmani sultan, the kingdom had begun to fall to pieces. Dissensions were rife, and provincial governors profited by them to set themselves up as independent rulers of newly founded states. In this way five sultanates were established in the Deccan—Berar, Bidar, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur. The history of these sultanates finds naturally its place after that of the Bahmani kingdom, out of which they were formed.

[1] Quoted by Smith, *O.H.I.*, 283. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 284.

Plan

1. Berar. 2. Bidar. 3. Golkonda.
4. Ahmadnagar. 5. Bijapur.

1. Berar, 1484-1574. As early as 1484 Berar had become an independent state; but it did not play an important part in the history of the Deccan, and in 1574 it was absorbed by Ahmadnagar.

2. Bidar, 1526-1609. The provincial governor of Bidar was for all practical purpose an independent ruler in 1492. But for a number of years he continued to acknowledge the nominal overlordship of Bahmani, in which kingdom his influence was paramount. For after 1518 he practically made and unmade everyone of the last four Bahmani princes. It was only in 1526 that he proclaimed himself an independent king. The dynasty he founded lasted till 1609, when Bidar was annexed by Bijapur.

3. Golkonda, 1518-1687. The Golkonda sultanate was founded in 1518, and it practically ceased to exist in 1611, when its history began to be interwoven with that of the Moghul Empire. It was finally annexed by Shah Jahan in 1637.

The founder of the dynasty moved his capital from Warrangal to Golkonda, but afterwards he took up his residence at Bhagnagar, which was afterwards called Hyderabad, and which became the capital of the Nizams.

A pleasing feature in the history of Golkonda is an unexpected spirit of religious toleration, for Hindus were not debarred from holding offices in the service of the State.

4. Ahmadnagar, 1490-1600. The sultanate of Ahmadnagar was founded in 1490. Though Ahmadnagar

was its capital, its most important city was the fortress-town of Daulatabad, acquired by the founder of the new kingdom in 1499.

The sultans of Ahmadnagar were oftener at war than at peace. At first they joined their Hindu neighbours of Vijayanagar against the forces of Bijapur (1550). But fifteen years later they abandoned their Hindu allies and joined the ranks of their foes. They took an active part in the sack of Vijayanagar in 1565.

One of the most interesting figures in the history of Ahmadnagar is *Chand Bibi*, queen dowager of Bijapur, who saved Ahmadnagar from falling into the hands of Akbar's son, Prince Murad (1596). But four years later the Moghul forces, this time under the command of Prince Daniyal, Akbar's third son, renewed their attack on the capital. Before besiegers and besieged came to grips, Chand Bibi perished. She was probably murdered by a treacherous eunuch. Her death was followed by the capture of the city, and Ahmadnagar became a province of the Moghul Empire (1600).

5. Bijapur, 1489-1673. Bijapur, which was founded in 1489, was by far the most important of the Deccan sultanates. Its history is to a large extent taken up with the waging of wars, and may be treated under the following heads : Religious policy and foreign policy.

A. Religious Policy. *Yusuf Adil Shah* (1490-1510). The founder of the Bijapur sultanate had strong leanings towards the Shia creed, which he was anxious to force upon his subjects. But this attempt caused widespread discontent not only in his own state but also in the neighbouring states ; and the other Deccan sultanates combined forces against Bijapur. Thereupon Yusuf Adil Shah gave up his attempt, but he himself always practised the Shia creed. He also married a

Hindu wife, and did not debar Hindus from holding public offices.

Ibrahim Adil Shah I (1535-1557), the fourth ruler of the Adil Shahi dynasty, gave up all the Shia practices of his predecessors, and became a Sunni. Therefore he sided with the Deccanees and their allies, the Abyssinians, and in no way favoured Persians and other foreigners.

Ali Adil Shah (1557-1580) reverted to the Shia creed, practised by the founder of the dynasty, and started persecuting the Sunnis. Thus the sultanate was made the victim of religious dissensions, which greatly hampered its prosperity.

B. Foreign Events. *The Loss of Goa* (1510). During the reign of Yusuf Adil Shah, the Portuguese, under the leadership of Albuquerque, made a surprise attack on Goa, and captured the city in February 1510. Yusuf Adil Shah recaptured the city in May of the same year, but after his death in October the Portuguese were able to break down the defence of the city, and captured it a second time. Ever since Goa has remained in Portuguese hands.

Raid on Ahmadnagar (1558). Ali Adil Shah, the fourth sultan, joined forces with Rama Raya of Vijayanagar, and the combined armies invaded and laid waste Ahmednagar, committing fearful excesses (1558).

The Sack of Vijayanagar (1565). Rama Raya's excesses opened the eyes of the rulers of the Deccan sultanates; and Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur, and Golkonda entered into an alliance against Vijayanagar. The opposing armies met; and in the battle of Talikota, so called because the Muhammadan allies assembled at that town, the Hindus were defeated. This was the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Vijayanagar (1565).

Siege of Goa (1570). After the destruction of Vijayanagar, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar made an attempt to drive the Portuguese out of Goa. They besieged the city, but withdrew after ten months, unable to break down the resistance of its handful of defenders.

War with Ahmadnagar (1595). Ibrahim Adil Shah II fought the last war with Ahmadnagar, in which the ruler of Ahmadnagar was slain.

Wars with Marathas and Moghuls. The last two sultans had to fight with Sivaji and Aurangzeb; in both conflicts they were worsted, and in 1673 the Adil Shahi dynasty came to an end.

Note.—By way of additional information it may be here remarked that Admadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda developed national schools of architecture with distinctive features. It may be said that the Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur erected buildings " marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifices erected in India." Moreover, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were in possession of well-stocked libraries.[1]

SUMMARY

Berar : was annexed by Ahmadnagar.

Bidar : was annexed by Bijapur.

Golkonda : has the greater part of its history interwoven with that of the Moghul Empire.

Ahmadnagar : was often at war with Bijapur and with Vijayanagar. After Chand Bibi's death it became a Moghul province.

Bijapur : Several of its rulers were Shias, and there were religious dissensions between Shias and Sunnis. The chief events are : the capture of Goa by the Portuguese, the alliance with Vijayanagar against Ahmadnagar, the alliance with Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golkonda against Vijayanagar, the battle of Talikota, a futile attempt to recapture Goa, the defeat of Ahmadnagar, and the fight with the Marathas and the Moghuls.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 298.

III. HINDU REACTION

THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR, 1336-1646

To conclude the history of Muhammadan rule in the Deccan, mention is here made of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, whose rulers were the chief opponents to Muhammadan power in southern India.

Plan

1. Foundation.
2. The City.
3. The Rulers.
4. Constant Warfare.
5. Relations with Portuguese.
6. Trade, Literature, and Art.

1. Foundation, 1336. The foundation of the new Hindu Kingdom was the joint task of five brothers, who came forward as the champions of Hinduism against Muhammadan oppression. At first Vijayanagar was but a little principality, and the first two rulers were satisfied with being called chieftains, and did not assume the title of king. But the founders' attempt succeeded beyond all expectation, for little by little the principality grew in size and importance, until at last it became the paramount power in southern India, and comprised the whole of the modern Madras Presidency, the Native States included.

2. The City. Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, visited the city in 1420. In his opinion its circumference was about 60 miles.[1] The Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak, wrote in 1443: "It is a city exceedingly large and populous and a king of great power and dominion."[2] Caesar Frederick visited the city one year after the so-called battle of Talikota, and wrote: "The

[1] Quoted by Smith, *O.H.I.*, 308. [2] Quoted by Heras, 2.

circuit is 24 miles, and within its walls are certain mountains. I have seen three kings' courts, and yet I have seen none in greatness like to Vijayanagar."[1]

3. The Rulers. The wealth of the Vijayanagar rulers seems to have been fabulous. The royal palace enclosure contained 34 streets, and one room of the palace was all ivory from top to bottom. The utensils used in the royal service were of gold or silver; and some of the golden vessels were of immense size.[2] Their wealth was equalled by their strength; for it has been said that they had a million fighting troops at their disposal. Their rule was autocratic in the extreme. They had absolute control over the great nobles entrusted with the government of the provinces, of which there were about 200. They appointed governors, could at any time deprive them of their office, and even claimed the right of confiscating their lands. They ruled over the common people with an iron hand, taxed them heavily, and inflicted punishments too revolting to be mentioned.

4. Constant Warfare. The Hindus of Vijayanagar were constantly at war with their Muhammadan neighbours in the north.

A. Bahmani Wars. From its earliest beginning Vijayanagar was made the victim of Bahmani aggressions.

During the reign of *Bukka* (1343-1379) Muhammad Shah I, the second sultan of Bahmani, attacked the kingdom of Vijayanagar with relentless ferocity, and half a million Hindus perished in the fierce contest. Mujahid Shah, the third sultan of Bahmani, walked in his predecessor's footsteps, and almost succeeded in capturing the city of Vijayanagar.[3]

[1] Quoted by Heras, 53.
[2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 311.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 276, 302.

During the reign of *Deva Raya I* (1406-1410) Firoz, the eighth sultan of Bahmani, led a yearly expedition into the kingdom of Vijayanagar, occupied Rajamundri situated on the Godavari delta, and forced Deva Raya to pay an annual tribute.

During the reign of *Deva Raya II* (1421-1428), Ahmad Shah, the ninth sultan of Bahmani, continued to harass the Hindu kingdom and to enforce the yearly tribute.

B. Deccan Sultanate Wars. After the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom, warfare between Muhammadans and Hindus did not come to an end. The Deccan sultans simply took the place of the Bahmani princes.

Bijapur. In the struggle that ensued Bijapur took the leading part, but was not always successful. In 1520 Krishna Raya (1509-1529) completely routed the Bijapur forces, after a fierce battle in which the Hindus themselves had 16,000 killed. So great was the victory that Krishna Raya was able temporarily to occupy Bijapur, and to raze to the ground its early capital, the fortress-city of Kulbarga.[2]

Again in 1548, during the reign of Sadasiva Raya (1542-1570), Rama Raya, the able minister of Vijayanagar, succeeded in forming an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkonda. On this occasion Bijapur escaped destruction, but suffered considerably.[3]

Ahmadnagar. Fifteen years later Bijapur had its revenge. It allied itself with Vijayanagar, and the combined Hindu-Muslim forces attacked Ahmadnagar. Rama Raya wrought terrible destruction in Admadnagar, and the Hindus proved themselves as merciless

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 276, 302.
[2] *Ibid. O.H.I.*, 304.
[3] *Ibid. O.H.I.*, 305.

as the Muhammadans had shown themselves in the past.

Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. Rama Raya's merciless devastation of Ahmadnagar opened the eyes of the sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. They realised that, if they wished to escape destruction, they had no other alternative but to forget their differences and join forces against the common enemy. The armies of the allies assembled at Talikota, situated north of the Kistna. On January 23rd, 1565, was fought at Raksas-Tagdi the so-called battle of Talikota.

Portuguese authors record that the Muhammadan armies numbered 50,000 horsemen and 3,000 infantry, whilst according to them the Hindu host consisted of 70,000 cavalry and 300,000 infantry. Though these numbers cannot be relied upon, it may be safely stated that the Hindus were twice as numerous as the Muhammadans; but the latter were provided with a greater amount of artillery.

In the battle that followed the Muhammadans won the day, and about 100,000 Hindus were slain. The defeat of Talikota was the beginning of the end of Vijayanagar.

5. Relations with Portuguese. These relations date as far back as 1507. The town of Goa had been wrested from Vijayanagar by the Sultanate of Bijapur. Thereupon Timoja, who was in command of the Hindu kingdom's fleet, prevailed on the Portuguese Governor, Francisco d'Almeida, to attack Goa; the attack was successful, and Timoja was called the most faithful ally of Portugal (1510).[1]

A year later, in 1511, the ruler of Vijayanagar sent

[1] Heras, 57.

ambassadors to Goa in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the King of Portugal.[1] The embassy was successful, for when Krishna Deva Raya captured the fortress of Rachol, there was among the attacking forces a detachment of Portuguese soldiers who rendered valuable service (1515). The Hindu ruler so much appreciated this timely help that he presented the Portuguese Viceroy with the whole territory of Salsette as a free gift (1516).[2]

The friendship lasted till the year 1544, when the Portuguese made an attempt to plunder a famous Hindu Temple in Vijayanagar territory. The attempt did not succeed, and in 1546 the friendship was renewed. The Hindu ruler confirmed the donation of Salsette and Bardez.[3] This renewal of friendship was confirmed by a solemn treaty in September 1547.

In 1558 Rama Raya made a sudden attack on St. Thomé, but, as the citizens did not resist, they were let off on easy terms. Nor were the friendly relations otherwise disturbed, and there was considerable trade between the Portuguese of St. Thomé and Goa and the merchants of Vijayanagar. The chief commodities of trade are those described by Caesar Frederick: "The merchandise that went every year from Goa to Vijayanagar consisted of Arab horses, velvet, damask, satin, armozeen, saffron, and scarlet." [4]

As a matter of fact the Portuguese had for a number of years the monopoly of trade with Vijayanagar, till their influence was at last undermined by the coming of their Dutch rivals.

6. **Trade, Literature, and Art.** *Trade.* The inhabitants of Vijayanagar did a considerable amount of trade at first with the Portuguese, and afterwards with the

[1] Heras, 58. [2] *Ibid.* 60. [3] *Ibid.* 61. [4] *Ibid.* 72.

English and the Dutch. The chief commodities imported have already been mentioned. The foreign traders were no doubt attracted by the wealth of the Hindu kingdom ; for ancient chroniclers tell us that its rivers produced gold, while diamonds and other precious stones were found in its valleys.[1] There was such a profusion of wealth in the city itself, that after its sack " the plunder was so great that every private man in the army became rich in gold and jewels." [2]

Literature. The rulers of Vijayanagar gave their patronage to students of Sanskrit and Telegu literature. Krishna Raya was himself an accomplished scholar, and so were Rama Raya and his brothers. The greatest literary light of the period is the Telegu poet Alasani-Peddana.

Art. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was famed for its magnificent buildings, fortresses, temples, palaces, and immense works of irrigation, all of them conceived on a grandiose plan, and executed with wonderful finish of detail. Nor were the inhabitants ignorant of the art of painting, and their kings had in their services painters whose work was admired and praised by Portuguese travellers.

SUMMARY

Foundation : Vijayanagar, founded by five brothers, rapidly prospered, and comprised the whole of the Madras Presidency.

The City : It was large, populous, rich.

The Rulers : They were wealthy, powerful, and autocratic in their dealings with the nobles and with the people.

Warfare : They fought with the Bahmanis, who forced them to pay a yearly tribute.

They fought with the Deccan sultanates, defeated Bijapur, laid waste Ahmadnagar, and were defeated by Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Golkonda, and Bijapur at Talikota.

[1] Heras, 2. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 317.

Relations with the Portuguese: They helped the Portuguese to wrest Goa from Bijapur.

The Portuguese helped them to capture Rachol.

They ceded Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese.

They attacked St. Thomé.

They traded with the Portuguese.

Trade: They traded with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English.

Literature: They encouraged Sanskrit and Telegu literature.

Art: They built magnificent palaces, temples, fortresses.

BOOK III

THE MOGHUL PERIOD

1526-1858

CHAPTER I

MOGHUL SUPREMACY

I. Babar, 1526-1530.
II. Humayun, 1530-1556.
III. Akbar, 1556-1605.
IV. Jahangir, 1605-1627.
V. Shah Jahan, 1627-1658.
VI. Aurangzeb, 1658-1707.
VII. The First Six Emperors of the Falling Empire, 1707-1748.
VIII. The Last Five Puppet Emperors, 1748-1858.

No. 1.—BABAR, THE CONQUEROR, 1483-1526-1530

Introduction. The Moghuls were fierce fighting men. Their original home was apparently on the bleak and barren plain of Mongolia, in the furthermost east above China. With the wandering instinct innate in all the nomadic races, they travelled westwards, passed in course of time the high region of Pamir, where the river Oxus has its source, till they finally settled down, and established the kingdom of Transoxiana.

Already towards the end of the thirteenth century they had made attempts to invade India; but these attempts were time after time defeated by Ala-ud-din Khilji, 1300. Less than fifty years later the Moghuls made another raid upon India, and such was the panic

caused by their approach that Muhammad-bin Tughlak thought it prudent to come to terms with them, and bought them off, 1340. Finally, led by Timur, surnamed the Lame Firebrand of the World, they swooped down upon the prosperous plains of Hindustan, laid waste the fields, burnt towns and villages, and massacred the inhabitants with a thoroughness which has never been equalled in history, 1388.

Timur's invasion was a blow that made the Empire of Delhi totter and reel on its already shaking foundations; and the result was anarchy, pestilence and ruin. The anarchy that prevailed resulted in the establishment of many independent kingdoms ; so that in the beginning of the sixteenth century there was no longer an United India to oppose the foreign invaders. It was at that time when the country was weak and distracted by its own divisions, that Babar invaded India.

Plan

1. Who he was.
2. Character.
3. Conquest.
4. Difficulties.
5. Difficulties overcome.
6. Place in History.

1. Who he was. Babar was born in Farghana in February 1483. He was a lineal descendant of Timur, and he was about eleven years old when his father's sudden death seated him on the throne. His real name was Jahir-ud-din ; but he is known in history as Babar.

2. His Character. Babar was brave and ambitious. He meant to extend the narrow limits of his little kingdom and, strangely fascinated by the alluring spell [1] which the south has always cast on the north, he

[1] Newman, i. 1.

regarded the fertile plains of Hindustan with covetous eyes.

3. Conquests. He first tried to secure for himself and his descendants the kingdom of Samarkand. Twice he conquered it, but each time he failed to consolidate his position. Next he crossed into Afghanistan, and occupied Kabul, 1504. The conquest of Afghanistan brought him close to the coveted wealth of India; but his first military expeditions against that country were only raids in the nature of reconnaissance work;[1] and it was not till 1524 that he led his soldiers into the Punjab, with the intention of adding it permanently to his already extensive dominions.

On that occasion Babar's entrance into the Punjab was made singularly easy for him. Daulat Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, actually invited him to come, and asked his aid against the forces of Ibrahim Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi. So eagerly did Babar accept the invitation that Daulat Khan, perceiving the blunder he had made, turned against the invaders; but his change of policy came too late. It was in vain that he attempted to ward off Babar's territorial encroachments. Babar took Lahore, subjugated Daulat Khan, and marched on Delhi by way of Panipat.

The memorable battle of Panipat was fought in April 1526. Babar possessed a large park of artillery;[2] he commanded a well-trained body of cavalry, whilst his infantry was composed of sturdy hillmen whose physical endurance far exceeded that of the Emperor's followers. Add to this that Babar displayed consummate military skill, whilst the Emperor as Babar testifies, "was inexperienced and illiberal, negligent in strategy and disorderly in movement, halting without plan and

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 321. [2] *Ibid.* 322.

fighting without forethought," and the result of the battle will naturally appear to us a foregone conclusion.[1] When all was over, 5,000 corpses were piled about the dead Emperor; and according to Babar's estimate, the Indians lost 15,000 in killed alone, whilst the reward of the victors was India, her fertile plains, and her wealth.

Forthwith Babar set to work to reap the full benefit of his great victory. He occupied Delhi and Agra, and by his judicious treatment of the vanquished he secured the support of the Afghan nobles. This enabled Humayun, Babar's son, to make a successful campaign in Bihar and Jaunpur, in northern Muhammadan India, whilst Babar turned southwards, and devoted himself to the subduing of Hindu India.

Rana Sangram Singh of Chitor, the hero of a hundred fights, and scarred by eighty wounds from lance or sword,[2] took up the defence of Hindu India against the Moghul invaders. At the head of a formidable force he advanced on Agra. The opposing armies met at Khanua, a village about ten miles from Sikri;[3] thus the battle is at times spoken of as the battle of Sikri. At Khanua the tragedy of Panipat was repeated; military tactics and artillery once more won the day, 1527.

Forthwith Babar marched towards Rajputana by way of Chanderi. This was a strongly fortified town, and for a week withstood the onslaught of the Moghul besiegers, whilst its citadel fell only after all its heroic defenders had perished to a man, 1528. The victory of Khanua and the fall of Chanderi sealed the fate of Hindu India; for the successor of the valiant Rana Sanga made his submission to the Moghul conqueror.

Then the indefatigable Babar led his armies to the

[1] Keene, i. 75. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 323.

[3] Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire-Builder*, 149.

north, whence news had reached him that the Afghan rulers were up in arms against the Moghuls. By forced marches he proceeded to Kanauj, and continued to march in an eastern direction, till he finally defeated the Afghan rulers on the banks of the river Gogra in the neighbourhood of Patna, 1529. He then returned to Agra, where he died in the course of the following year, 1530.

His Indian conquests comprised Rajputana, and the Muhammadan kingdoms north of the Jumna and of the Ganges as far as the western boundaries of Bengal.

4. Difficulties. To form a fair estimate of the greatness of Babar's conquests we must bear in mind the difficulties he had to overcome. The country to be conquered was so vast that the very thought of attempting its conquest could only have occurred to a man of extraordinary daring. It meant endless marching and riding by foreign troops, accustomed to a bracing hill climate, and having no experience of the enervating heat of the sunburnt plains of Hindustan. In the next place Babar had but a comparatively small army at his disposal, whereas the people he meant to subjugate were able to oppose him in overwhelming numbers. Finally the greatest difficulty of all was the result of religious differences between the Moghuls on the one hand and the Hindus and the Indian Muhammadans on the other. In the eyes of the Hindus the Moghuls were enemies not only of their country but also of their religion ; whilst the Afghans, as faithful followers of the Prophet, felt but little religious sympathy towards the Moghuls, who were Muhammadans of a very loose type.

5. Difficulties Overcome. Yet Babar succeeded in carrying out his ambitious plans. His success can, in the first instance, be accounted for by the actual state of

India. When the Moghuls came into India, the country was under Muhammadan rule but for Rajputana in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. There were six great Muhammadan kingdoms to the north of the Vindhya mountains, and five more in the Deccan. Rajputana itself was composed of a number of kingdoms the chief being Udaipur, or Chitor. The result was that there was a strange lack of union between the Indians; there was not only the traditional opposition between Rajputs and Afghans; there were also divisions between Afghans and Afghans, and between Hindus and Hindus. India was like a house divided against itself, and Babar profited by this lack of union, knowing how to make use of one party to crush another.

His success was also the result of his military genius, his incredible daring, and the fact that his soldiers were hardy mountaineers whose physical endurance surpassed that of the Indians. Finally in the pitched battles of Panipat and Sikri, Babar's success was largely due to the use of artillery.

6. Babar's Place in Moghul History. Babar can hardly be called the founder of the Moghul Empire. To be the founder of an empire does not mean only the conquest of vast territories, it also includes the assimilation of the conquered territories by means of wise organisation and administration. Babar died before he could seriously start this work.

SUMMARY

I. Who he was

Ruler of Farghana, ambitious and brave.

II. What he did

1. Twice lost and regained the throne of Farghana.

2. Conquered Afghanistan, occupied Kabul, made reconnaissance raids into India.

3. Invited by Daulat Khan, took Lahore, defeated Daulat Khan, defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, occupied Delhi, and Agra.

4. His son, Humayun, subjugated Bihar and Jaunpur.

5. Babar defeated the Rajputs at Sikri, took Chanderi, occupied the whole of Rajputana.

6. Went to Humayun's aid, victorious on the banks of the Gogra, returned to Agra, where he died.

III. Difficulties

Smallness of his army, vastness of the country, religious opposition of Hindus and Afghans.

IV. Causes of Success

1. The state of India: opposition between Hindus and Muhammadans, and among the members of either creed.

2. Military genius of the leader, physical strength of his soldiers.

3. Use of artillery.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief sketch of the life of Babar, of his character, and his conquests (Summary).

2. What difficulties had Babar to overcome, and how did he surmount them (4-5) ?

3. Account for Babar's victories at Panipat and Sikri (3).

4. Write a note on Daulat Khan, Ibrahim Lodi, and Rana Sangram Singh (3).

5. Why is Babar not the founder of the Moghul Empire (6) ?

No. 2.—HUMAYUN, THE UNLUCKY
1530-1540—1555-1556

Plan

1. Humayun's Downfall.
2. Sher Shah's Administration.
3. Humayun's Restoration.

I. HUMAYUN'S DOWNFALL

Causes. Humayun's downfall was brought about by his lack of self-restraint, by his injudicious expedition into Gujarat and by Sher Shah's rebellion.

1. Lack of Self-restraint. It has been said of Humayun that he was always more distinguished by courage than by conduct;[1] and his addiction to opium probably explains his failure to a considerable extent.[2] He was not lacking in ability, but was deficient in energetic promptitude.

2. Expedition into Gujarat. Bahadur Shah was a very powerful Muhammadan prince. He was king of Gujarat, had conquered Malwa, and had reduced Khandesh, Ahmadnagar and Berar to the condition of feudatory states. He had also successfully attacked Chitor. Humayun, therefore, saw in him a dangerous rival, and invaded his kingdom, 1535. The expedition was at first crowned with brilliant success. Bahadur Shah was defeated, and the fortress of Champaner, which contained his treasury, was captured.

But in reality the war with Gujarat was the beginning of Humayun's downfall. First of all the victories which he gained were but temporary; thus he was unable to hold Gujarat, which was soon afterwards reconquered by Bahadur Shah. Next, it was during the war with Gujarat, whilst the bulk of Humayun's army was concentrated in that country, that in the eastern parts of the Moghul Empire Sher Shah rose in rebellion, and began his struggle for supremacy.

3. Sher Shah's Rebellion. Sher Shah was a man of many parts and of a singularly enterprising character. He first offered his services to Babar, and was present at the capture of Chanderi. Next he attached himself to an Afghan chieftain called Jalal-ud-din; and when the latter was overthrown by Mahmud Lodi, a brother of the late emperor Ibrahim Lodi, Sher Shah transferred his allegiance to the victorious Mahmud. His next

[1] Keene, i. 80. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 325.

move was to deprive his new master of his power, and to come openly forward as the leader of the Pathan reaction against the Moghul invaders.[1]

Humayun was therefore forced to abandon Gujarat. He hastened eastwards, captured the fort of Chunar, and advanced as far as Gaur in Bengal, 1538, where he spent a long time, more bent on pleasure than business.[2] Meanwhile the Moghul soldiers, enervated by a luxurious life, could hardly stand the extreme heat of the summer, so that Humayun finally made up his mind to retreat and to draw closer to his capital But the retreat was impeded by the early rains which fell with great violence, flooding the roads and seriously hampering the provisioning of the Moghul host. At Buxar, on the Ganges, the retreating army was intercepted by Sher Shah, and utterly routed, 1539. Less than a year later Sher Shah obtained a still more decisive victory at Kanauj, 1540. The battle of Kanauj sealed Humayun's fate, and placed Sher Shah on the throne of Delhi.

II. SHER SHAH'S ADMINISTRATION

Sher Shah proved himself a wise administrator. Though he was a strict Muslim, he did not subject the Hindus to oppressive religious laws ; on the contrary he had the material welfare of Hindus and Muhammadans at heart. He did his best to encourage agriculture, rightly considering the tillers of the soil as the mainstay of his newly founded empire. He also built a great trunk road from the Indus to Bengal, along which travelling was made safe and easy. Planted on both sides with trees, it was patrolled by police ; there were caravansaries at short distances, and wells at fixed

[1] Keene, i. 96. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 326.

intervals. He is also said to have been the first to introduce the Persian *chapar*, or mounted postal messenger, for the conveyance of mails.[1]

Furthermore, he drew up a new digest of civil and penal law ; and it has been said to Sher Shah's honour that, though the justice which he administered was of a rough and ready kind, yet punishments were carried out under his strict personal supervision, whilst no man could expect favour by reason of his rank or position.[2] Finally he established a land revenue system which was to become in later times the model after which the assessment of land revenue was organised by subsequent rulers. He based the revenue assessment on the measurement of the land and on an appraisement of various crops. Sher Shah's beneficent rule may therefore be looked upon as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter and as an era of useful reforms.[3] He died in 1545.

III. HUMAYUN'S RESTORATION

After his defeat at Buxar, Humayun became a homeless wanderer. He first fled to Sind, and next to Persia, 1544. In the latter country he was hospitably received, and it was with the aid of Persian troops that he succeeded in capturing Kandahar, 1545, and afterwards Kabul. The capture of Kabul did not, however, give him undisputed possession of Afghanistan ; there followed four more years of protracted strife with varying fortune, before Kamran, Humayun's brother, and one of his most determined opponents, was finally defeated, and rendered incapable of further mischief.[4] The reconquest of Afghanistan and the defeat of his

[1] Sinclair, 76.
[2] Keene, i. 99.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 327.
[4] *Ibid.* 100.

brother Kamran were the first steps towards the reconquest of Hindustan.

What contributed still more towards Humayun's restoration was Sher Shah's untimely death. The latter died in 1545. His successors were weak and inefficient rulers, and under the last of the Sur dynasty Hemu, a clever Hindu tradesman, became minister, and was the real ruler of the country. But the Afghan nobles naturally resented the supremacy of a Hindu chandler, and rebelled against him. Humayun then profited by the confusion and anarchy prevailing among the Muslims. He recrossed the Indus, defeated his enemies, and occupied Delhi and Agra, 1555. But he did not long enjoy his triumph, for he died in January 1556.

SUMMARY

A. Humayun

I. Causes of his Downfall

1. Lack of self-restraint, love of ease and pleasure.
2. The expedition against Gujarat (temporary victory, occasion of Sher Shah's rebellion).
3. Sher Shah's rebellion: victories of Chunar and Gaur; disastrous retreat, defeats of Buxar and Kanauj.

II. Causes of his Restoration

1. The loyalty of his followers (Bairam Khan).
2. Helped by Persia, conquered Afghanistan, captured Kabul.
3. Defeated his brother, Kamran, after a four years' struggle.
4. Untimely death of Sher Shah and worthlessness of his successors.
5. Dissensions in Delhi caused by Hemu's supremacy.
6. Defeated his enemies, occupied Delhi and Agra.

B. Sher Shah

I. Great Warrior

1. Rebelled against Humayun; enticed him far from Delhi (Gaur); harassed the retreating army, was victorious at Buxar and Kanauj.

II. Wise Administrator

1. Did not oppress the Hindus.

2. Encouraged agriculture.

3. Built roads, caravansaries, wells; instituted police patrols, postal messengers or *chapars*.

4. Drew up a code of civil and penal laws, and administered justice with equity.

5. Introduced a famous land revenue system. Assessment of land based on quality and quantity of the land, quarter of the produce claimed by the State.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of Humayun's downfall, and what events led to his restoration (I, III)?

2. Give a brief sketch of the struggle for supremacy between Humayun and Sher Shah (I).

3. Write a note on Sher Shah's administration (II).

No. 3.—AKBAR, THE FOUNDER, 1556-1605

Accession. It was whilst his father Humayun was a homeless wanderer that Akbar was born at Amarkot in November 1542. When Humayun died there were four claimants to the throne. First of all there was young Akbar, his son, a lad of thirteen years, whose deficiency in years was fully made up for by the strong support of Bairam Khan, his guardian. Next there were two princes of the Sur Dynasty; and finally there was Hemu, the Hindu Minister. The latter was still powerful, and succeeded in occupying Delhi and Agra; he then marched against the Moghuls whom he found encamped on the historic battlefield of Panipat.

In November 1556 the second battle of Panipat was fought. Bairam Khan was victorious, whilst Hemu, who had been wounded on the battlefield, fell into the hands of his enemies. The latter summarily executed him; and it is said that, on Bairam Khan's advice,

young Akbar struck the first blow.[1] Thus Akbar's most formidable rival was safely disposed of. The two princes of the Sur dynasty never attempted to vindicate their claim to the throne by an appeal to arms, so that the second battle of Panipat practically placed Akbar in undisputed possession of the throne.

Plan

1. Conquests.
2. Difficulties.
3. Difficulties overcome.
4. Place in History.
5. Character.
6. Prominent Men.

I. AKBAR'S CONQUESTS

1. First Period, 1556-1560-1562. During the first four years of his reign the work of conquest mainly consisted in recovering a great part of the territories which Humayun had lost. The recovered territories comprised the Punjab with the Multan district, and the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna as far as Allahabad. The most important capture was that of the fortress of Gwalior, the key of Rajputana. These conquests were not, however, the result of Akbar's own exertions; they were made for him by Bairam Khan. In 1560 Bairam Khan was dismissed from office, but Akbar remained in a state of degrading tutelage, and cared little for the affairs of his kingdom. This period of tutelage lasted two years, 1560-1562, and it was during that time that Adham Khan occupied Malwa.

2. Second Period, 1562-1601. In 1562 Akbar finally began both to think and act for himself. The following are the most important conquests which he himself made.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 344.

(*a*) *Conquest of Rajputana*, 1567-1572. He first made preparations for the siege of Chitor (Udaipur). The reigning Rana, Udai Singh, proved himself a coward, and fled to the mountains in the interior.[1] But many brave Rajputs remained at their post gallantly defending the city. It was only after a siege of four months that Chitor finally fell, Jaimal, who had assumed the leadership of his countrymen, having been unfortunately slain. The fall of Chitor sealed the fate of Rajputana; for, though there were certain clans that never submitted, yet most of the Rajas acknowledged Akbar as their overlord, and Rajputana became a province of the Moghul Empire.

(*b*) *Conquest of Gujarat*, 1573. Akbar took advantage of the dissensions prevailing in the country and put an end to the state of anarchy by annexing and adding Gujarat to his ever-increasing dominions.

(*c*) *Conquest of Bengal*, 1574-1592. Akbar was now left free to indulge his ambition in other directions. A chance was offered him by the rashness of Daud Khan, the young king of Bengal, who fancied himself strong enough to defy the Moghul Emperor. But he soon found out his mistake, and after several reverses, was finally defeated, and killed in the battle of Rajmahal, 1576. There were, however, serious rebellions afterwards, 1580; and it was not till 1592 that Orissa was finally annexed.[2]

(*d*) *Conquest in the North-West*, 1586-1594. Akbar now set himself to effect the subjugation of North-Western India. He conquered Kashmir, subdued various Afghan tribes around the plain of Peshawar, added Sind to the list of his annexations, and occupied Kandahar.[3]

[1] Longmans, 128-135. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 354.
[3] Pope, 96-97.

(e) *Conquest in the Deccan,* 1595-1601. Finally Akbar turned towards the South. Without striking a blow he gained possession of Khandesh, and a Moghul army was sent to invade Ahmadnagar, whose capital was heroically defended by the gallant Chand Bibi. It was only after the great warrior-queen had been foully murdered by her craven subjects that Ahmadnagar finally fell. The resistance met with at Ahmadnagar convinced Akbar that it was necessary to take upon himself the direction of military operations. He crossed the Nirbada, and besieged Asirgarh. But for once Akbar's ambition overreached itself. Asirgarh was impregnable, and Akbar succeeded in capturing the town only by means of bribery and corruption.[1] With the fall of Asirgarh the campaign in the Deccan came to an end, and Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, and Berar were added to the Moghul Empire.

II. DIFFICULTIES

It has been said that Akbar is the greatest Emperor that ever wielded a sceptre in India, and the literal truth of this statement will readily be grasped by those who try to form for themselves a correct idea of the difficulties which he had to overcome. These difficulties were practically the same as those with which Babar had to struggle. There was the vastness of the country to be conquered, the smallness of the army at his disposal, and the religious opposition to the Moghuls, set up by both Hindus and Afghans. Moreover, in the beginning, Akbar's position was that of a warrior who had to recover the dominions which his father had lost, and he had to start his conquests with what was

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 364.

practically a defeated army. (*Read the corresponding paragraph in the chapter on Babar.*)

III. DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME

We must therefore ask ourselves the question : Why was Akbar so successful ? Initially his success was due to the faithfulness of Bairam Khan and to the skill of Adham Khan. The former won the battle of Panipat, and recovered a great part of the Moghul Empire, whilst the latter conquered Malwa. Akbar's success was also brought about to a great extent by his extraordinary military genius. From the time of his emancipation in 1562 to 1601 he was invariably victorious, the first serious set-back he experienced being his failure to capture Asirgarh by force of arms. It may readily be admitted that good fortune attended him on many an occasion, but thirty-eight years of uninterrupted success cannot be accounted for by good luck alone. His military genius is further borne out by the overwhelming odds against which he successfully fought. Thus, on one occasion, during the conquest of Gujarat, Akbar with a force of 3,000 horsemen fought 20,000 of the enemy, and won a decisive victory.[1]

Furthermore, Akbar was a man of indefatigable energy. Unlike his father he was not addicted to pleasure and love of ease ; on the contrary, he spared himself no labour, and seemed almost incapable of fatigue. His famous ride across Rajputana, when he covered 600 miles in eleven days, is a marvellous feat of physical endurance and incredible energy.[2]

But what contributed perhaps more than anything else to his success was his consummate political acuteness. He chose as his counsellors men of learning and

[1] *Ibid.* 352. [2] *Ibid.* 352.

integrity, men like Todar Mall and Abul Fazl, and under their guidance adopted a policy that secured for him the allegiance of the nations which he conquered, and won for him the good will of the Rajput princes and of the common people.

He vanquished his enemies, but never crushed them; on the contrary, he made them his friends, persuaded defeated princes and their nobles to enter the imperial service, or attached them to his court. Furthermore, he broke down the religious barriers that divided Hindus from Muhammadans, and consolidated the ties of friendship by matrimonial bonds between Hindu and Muhammadan families. It is true that marriages between Muhammadan kings and the daughters of Rajput Rajas had taken place before; but what was an entirely new departure was Akbar's bold and unprecedented policy of acknowledging the male connections of the Hindu bride as members of the royal family.[1] Moreover, the Hindu queens were allowed to practise their own religion in the palace. The result was, that his army, instead of growing exhausted from half a century of uninterrupted fighting, found itself constantly supplied with fresh recruits. Little by little it became a common sight to see Hindus, Afghans and Moghuls fighting side by side against the enemies of the Empire.

Whilst anxious to secure the good will of the Hindu princes, he was not unmindful of the common people. By his useful reforms and wise administration he made it plain to the Hindus that he was bent not on oppressing them but on furthering their material welfare.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 370.

IV. AKBAR'S PLACE IN MOGHUL HISTORY

It has already been explained why Babar can hardly be called the founder of the Moghul Empire. Humayun, Babar's successor, lost the Empire, and only just managed to recover the throne of Delhi. The real founder of the Moghul Empire was Akbar; for, not satisfied with merely adding new countries to his dominions, he always took care to organise the freshly acquired territories, introducing everywhere useful reforms and establishing an excellent system of administration.

Reforms. The reforms which he introduced were all based on broad-minded toleration. First of all he allowed liberty of conscience. There are no people in the world more given to the practice of pilgrimages than the Hindus, and Muhammadan rulers had recognised in this custom a large and permanent source of revenue, by enforcing a pilgrim tax, the proceeds of which amounted to millions of rupees annually.[1] Akbar did not hesitate to abolish this odious tax. Next there was the *Jizya*, or capitation tax, imposed by Muhammadan rulers on those who were not followers of Islam. Akbar issued an edict that did away with the Jizya.

At the same time he allowed liberty of conscience only so far as that liberty did not endanger the lives of others. Thus he did his best to suppress the Hindu rite of *Sati*. It is true that he did not venture absolutely to forbid the practice, but he at least issued an order that, in the case of a widow showing the smallest disinclination to immolate herself the sacrifice was not to be permitted.[2] He also endeavoured to eradicate the pernicious custom of child marriage so deeply rooted among Hindus,[3]

[1] Malleson, *Akbar*, 173, [2] *Ibid.* 165. [3] *Ibid.* 176.

encouraged the re-marriage of widows, and prohibited trials by ordeal.[1] Furthermore, he abolished the practice by which the troops of the conqueror were permitted forcibly to sell or keep in slavery the wives, children and dependants of the conquered. He also substituted as far as possible money-payment to the soldiers for the old system of grants of land to the generals.

But the most important reform he introduced was Todar Mall's land revenue system. Todar Mall made the village community the foundation of his scheme. The lands were divided into three separate classes according to productiveness, and were also accurately measured ; so that the assessment was determined both by the quantity and the quality of cultivated land. Furthermore, under the new system, the collection of taxes was not entrusted to rapacious contractors, but was carried out by a local official, called an *Amalguzar*, whose business it was to look after the well-being of the peasantry. He was therefore not only a tax-collector, but also a magistrate and police officer ; in fact his duties were very like those of the magistrate and collector of a modern British district. The government share was fixed at one-third of the gross produce.[2]

The civil administration of the country was made easy by the division of the Empire into eighteen subahs or provinces,[3] each under a viceroy. Each province was divided into counties and fiscal units ; law-suits of Muslims and Hindus were disposed of according to the respective laws of the litigants. Of course the system was not perfect ; but every department of the imperial government came constantly under Akbar's watchful eye, and officials were liable to be recalled. So that, in

[1] Malleson, *Akbar*, 176. [2] *Imperial Gazetteer*, iv. 4.
[3] Joppen, Map 14.

spite of all its imperfections, the administration of the whole country bore at least a faint impress of the broad-minded toleration and fairness which were so characteristic of the great Akbar.

V. CHARACTER

As regards the man himself, he was possessed of many excellent qualities both of mind and body. His bodily strength was immense, and this enabled him to display an untiring activity, and to perform feats of marvellous endurance. Though he had never learnt how to read or write, his broad-minded views are clearly shown by his policy of toleration towards his Hindu subjects, by the useful reforms which he introduced, and by his genius for administration. All these qualities of mind and body were made subservient to his unbridled and irrepressible ambition. His love for power and greatness is further evidenced by his religious policy.

In England Henry VIII made himself the supreme head of the Church ; in India Akbar attempted to found a new religion, called the Divine Religion. The new creed was a strange mixture of several religions, so that it might appeal to Muhammadans, Hindus, and Christians. Though many time-serving courtiers readily embraced it, yet the new religion never counted many followers ; and with Akbar's death the Divine Religion disappeared.

VI. PROMINENT MEN

1. **Todar Mall.** Todar Mall was a great soldier and a great statesman, indeed it has been said of him that he has left no one to equal his integrity and administrative skill. Shortly after Akbar had conquered Gujarat, Todar Mall revealed himself as an able financier, for it

was in that province that he made his first revenue settlement. Later on he carried out the same settlement in many parts of the Empire.

2. Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl is said to have been the ablest man in Akbar's service. He was a man of profound learning and untiring industry, and was for many years Akbar's confidential secretary and adviser. He compiled the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or Institutes of Akbar, which give a wonderful survey of the Empire.

3. Bairam Khan. Bairam Khan was present at the battle of Kanauj, which ended so disastrously for the vanquished Humayun. He succeeded in escaping from the battlefield, but never wavered in his allegiance to his now homeless master. In 1543 he joined Humayun in Persia, and thus sharing Humayun's distress, remained faithful to him throughout. After Humayun's death Bairam Khan became the guardian and protector of young Akbar. His faithfulness to the imperial house remained unshaken; he could easily have supplanted Humayun's son, but, far from doing so, he actually placed Akbar in undisputed possession of the throne of Delhi by gaining for him the second battle of Panipat. During the first four years of Akbar's reign Bairam Khan was the practical ruler of the country. He extended the kingdom from the Punjab along the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna as far as Allahabad.

In 1560 he was dismissed from office, partly because Akbar was beginning to feel impatient of the restraint imposed by his guardian's tutelage, partly because the great general was the victim of a court intrigue, Akbar allowing himself to be swayed by unscrupulous women. After his dismissal he made an attempt to recover his lost position, and rebelled against Akbar. But his

rebellion was not so much directed against the royal house which he had so faithfully served, but rather against the court clique which had brought about his downfall. He was, however, defeated, and, on being pardoned by Akbar, was ordered to Mecca. On the way he was murdered, 1561. He was one of Akbar's most faithful servants.

SUMMARY

I. Who he was

Humayun's son, born at Amarkot, succeeded to the throne at the age of thirteen.

II. What he did

A. The Warrior

(*a*) Conquests not made by him: (1) Bairam Khan won the battle of Panipat; conquered the Punjab, the District of Multan, and the territory between the Jumna and the Ganges (Gwalior), 1558-60. (2) Adham Khan conquered Malwa, 1560-62.

(*b*) Conquests made by Akbar: Rajputana (Chitor), Gujarat, Bengal, Kashmir, Peshawar, Kabul, Kandahar, Sind, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Berar.

B. The Administrator

1. Did not oppress those whom he conquered, secured the allegiance of the Afghan chieftains, gained the friendship of the Hindus.

2. Conciliatory policy towards the Hindus: important positions in the state and the army, marriage alliances between Hindus and Moghuls, useful reforms.

3. Reforms (abuses done away with): suppressed the Jizya and the pilgrim tax, forbade sati as a compulsory practice, opposed child marriage, encouraged widow marriage, forbade the enslaving of the conquered, substituted money payment to the soldiers for the old system of grants of land to generals.

4. Reforms (useful measures introduced): Todar Mall's land revenue system (three classes of land, assessment based on quality and quantity; third of the produce claimed by the State), division of the Empire into subahs under Akbar's superintendence.

III. Difficulties

Smallness of his army, vastness of the country, religious opposition from Hindus and Afghans, rivalry of Hemu, disorganisation of Moghul forces, and Akbar's youth at the time of his accession.

IV. Causes of Success

1. Faithfulness of Bairam Khan (Panipat, Punjab, Multan, territories between the Jumna and the Ganges) and of Adham Khan (Malwa).

2. Akbar's military genius and energy ; physical strength of his soldiers.

3. Akbar's wise policy (*see* administration).

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief sketch of Akbar. (Summary.)

2. What was Akbar's great dream, and how did he realise it ? (V. and Summary.)

3. Why is Akbar rightly called the real founder of the Moghul Empire ? (IV.)

4. What difficulties had Akbar to overcome and how did he surmount them ? (II, III.)

5. Write a note on Akbar's conquests, on his reforms, and on his system of administration. (Summary.)

6. Write a note on Todar Mall's land revenue system. (VI, 1 ; IV.)

7. Write a note on Bairam Khan and Abul Fazl. (VI, 2, 3.)

8. Compare and contrast Babar and Akbar.

No. 4.—JAHANGIR, THE SLUGGARD, 1605-1627

His Antecedents. Akbar was singularly unfortunate in his sons. Two of them, Murad and Daniyal, died from the effects of drink, while his eldest son, Prince Salim, who later on called himself Jahangir, filled the last years of his father's life with misery. While Akbar was besieging Asirgarh, Salim rebelled against him, holding court as an independent king at Allahabad. Next he inflicted a terrible blow upon his father, the

rapidly aging Emperor, whose health had already begun to fail. He hired a chief to murder Akbar's confidential secretary and trusty adviser, Abul Fazl. But, as Salim was the only son left him, Akbar finally made peace with him, and appointed him successor to the throne.

Plan

1. Accession.
2. The Person of the Emperor.
3. Nur Jahan's Rule.
4. Nur Jahan's Downfall.

I. ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

Prince Khusru, Rival Claimant. Prince Salim had been notorious for his lack of respect towards his father, and after Akbar's death, as though by way of retribution, he was in turn opposed by his own son, Prince Khusru, who made a bold attempt to secure the throne for himself, and rose up in arms against his father, Jahangir. Accordingly the Prince fled from Agra, and having gathered a considerable number of followers withdrew to the Punjab.

The news of his son's flight made Jahangir realise the danger in which he stood. With unwonted energy he forthwith started in pursuit and was successful in overtaking the fugitive on the banks of the Chinab. There Prince Khusru's force was routed, and he himself was made prisoner. His father, in wreaking his vengeance on his son's followers, made an incredible display of cruelty. Hundreds of Khusru's adherents were impaled on stakes set up on either side of the road, along which Jahangir himself rode, and forced the miserable Prince to ride, in order "to receive the homage of his servants." Ever after Khusru was kept in close custody. Furthermore his life was unceasingly threatened by his brother

Khurram, the future Shah Jahan ; and when the latter became responsible for the prisoner in 1620, the inevitable result quickly followed—in the beginning of 1622 Prince Khusru was cruelly murdered.

II. THE PERSON OF THE EMPEROR

Prince Salim on his accession to the throne, assumed the name of Jahangir, "The World's Conqueror." But the assumption of such a great title was never more than an empty boast, for Jahangir proved himself a despicable sluggard, whose many vices had scarcely a redeeming feature. First of all, the effort he had made to put down his son's rebellion seemed to have exhausted his whole store of energy, for he ever afterwards gave himself up to a life of pleasure and indolence. Next he indulged in fiendish displays of savage cruelty, and whatever good qualities he had were marred by his habitual and excessive intemperance. But he always tried to keep up appearances, and, though he was himself a drunkard, he punished all those who had similar tastes.[1]

Lastly, this would-be conqueror of the world fell a captive to a woman's charms. He was so infatuated with Nur Jahan, that, although the latter at first ignored all his advances, he finally persuaded her to become his wife, 1611. As soon as Nur Jahan became Empress, Jahangir gradually dropped into the background, and became a mere figure-head. He died in 1627. In spite of the pretentious name which he assumed on ascending the imperial throne, he never made any conquests. He even hopelessly and helplessly failed to conquer himself, his wicked passions, and his evil inclinations.

[1] Pope, 104.

III. NUR JAHAN'S RULE

In 1611 took place the marriage between Jahangir, the Conqueror of the World, and Nur Jahan, the Light of the World. Though this marriage was but a mere domestic event, it soon assumed a national importance. Forthwith Nur Jahan's influence in affairs of state became unbounded, and she profited by it to further the interests of the members of her family. Her father and brother were both ennobled, the former as Itimad-ud-daulah, the latter as Asaf Khan.[1] Moreover, they were speedily raised to the highest office, and in their capacity of Ministers of State proved themselves wise administrators. Under their guidance Nur Jahan practically ruled over the Empire, and her rule was both beneficent and humane. Thus, while Jahangir continued to indulge in nightly revels, the affairs of the Empire were carefully attended to, 1611-1625.

Leading Events. (*a*) *War in Rajputana.* In 1568 the fall of Chitor sealed the fate of Rajputana. The then ruling Raja, Udai Singh, had fled at the approach of the Moghul hosts, and sought refuge in the mountains. After Udai Singh's death his son, the brave Rana Partab Singh, became Lord of Mewar or Udaipur. He continued to fight against the Moghul invaders with varied success. When defeated he took refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains, ready to sally forth at the first opportunity. Thus the inglorious contest which the Moghuls waged with Udaipur went on endlessly till it was at last brought to a successful issue by Shah Jahan, Jahangir's son. The latter harassed the brave clans of Mewar, till they were reduced to the last extremity;

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 377.

and finally in 1614 Rana Amar Singh tendered his submission to the Moghul Emperor.

(*b*) *War in the Deccan.* After the murder of Chand Bibi, the city of Ahmadnagar had been captured by the Moghuls, and the kingdom had become a part of the Empire. But the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, though conquered, was in a state of permanent unrest. Malik Ambar profited by this unrest, and attempted to set up an independent kingdom, and to expel the Moghul invaders. Accordingly from the very beginning of Jahangir's reign hostilities had never wholly ceased. Finally Shah Jahan was sent into the Deccan, and assumed the direction of military operations. He succeeded in defeating Malik Ambar in the field, and captured the Fort of Ahmadnagar in 1616.

IV. NUR JAHAN'S DOWNFALL

Nur Jahan's downfall was brought about by her overreaching ambition, for, in her eagerness to secure her own personal greatness, she made enemies of Shah Jahan, Mahabat Khan, and Asaf Khan.

1. **Shah Jahan's Rebellion.** In 1622 Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, recaptured Kandahar. Forthwith a Moghul expedition was organised to recapture the lost city, and Shah Jahan was once more appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces. His appointment was on this occasion chiefly due to Nur Jahan, who was determined to secure his removal from the imperial court, so that she might take advantage of his absence to deprive him of the succession. The Empress was anxious that Prince Shahryar, Jahangir's youngest son who had married her daughter by her first husband, should succeed to the throne. Accordingly Shah Jahan refused to obey. He was thereupon

deprived of the greater part of his army, which was placed under the command of Prince Shahryar, by whom he was thus superseded.

By way of retaliation Shah Jahan marched upon Agra with the intention of seizing the imperial treasury. But Mahabut Khan was sent against the rebel, and drove Shah Jahan through Malwa in the Deccan. From the Deccan the Prince had to retreat into Bengal, where he suffered another defeat. The result was that he had finally to submit to his father. Thus it came about that Nur Jahan was successful in her intrigues against Shah Jahan; she made Jahangir suspicious of his capable son, and finally she had Shahryar recognised by the Emperor as heir-apparent, 1625.

2. Mahabat Khan's Rebellion. Nur Jahan next attempted to get rid of her best general, the renowned Mahabat Khan, whose growing influence with the army she had begun to fear, 1626. Accordingly Mahabat Khan, to save himself from destruction, unexpectedly struck the first blow. Whilst the Emperor and Empress with a large suite were on their way to Kabul, they were waylaid by Mahabat Khan and his Rajput horsemen, and the Emperor was carried off a prisoner. Nur Jahan at first tried to regain possession of her husband by force but her efforts in the field turned out miserable failures. She succeeded, however, in effecting her purpose by stratagem, and so thought that she had not only outwitted Mahabat Khan, but also crippled him for good. The latter, however, joined forces with Shah Jahan.

3. Asaf Khan's Defection. Besides this, to Nur Jahan's great disadvantage, her two opponents received the support of Asaf Khan, the brother of the Empress. For Asaf Khan's daughter was married to Shah Jahan,

and he was therefore anxious that his son-in-law should succeed to the throne.

Nur Jahan's supremacy, already seriously threatened, then met the heaviest blow of all. The Emperor's death in 1627 deprived her of all authority and influence and she was compelled to retire into private life.

SUMMARY

Nur Jahan's Rule

I. Who she was

Jahangir's wife, she became the practical ruler of the country.

II. Successful Rule

1. Under the guidance of her father and of her brother the empire was wisely administered.

2. Shah Jahan, Jahangir's son, overcame the opposition of the Rajputs, and defeated Malik Ambar in the Deccan.

III. Downfall

1. Nur Jahan tried to deprive Shah Jahan of the succession in favour of Shahryar ; accordingly Shah Jahan rebelled, but was defeated by Mahabat Khan.

2. Nur Jahan tried to get rid of Mahabat Khan, who seized the person of the Emperor ; but Nur Jahan regained possession of her husband.

3. Mahabat Khan joined Shah Jahan ; they were joined by Asaf Khan (father-in-law of Shah Jahan).

4. Jahangir died ; and Nur Jahan was powerless against her combined enemies.

5. Retirement into private life.

QUESTIONS

1. Write brief biographical sketches of Prince Khusru, Jahangir, and Nur Jahan. (I, II, Summary.)

2. What causes brought about Nur Jahan's downfall ? (IV.)

No. 5.—SHAH JAHAN, THE MAGNIFICENT 1627-1658

Antecedents. Before he succeeded to the throne Shah Jahan's life had been far from blameless. Long after he had become emperor he was accused by his son, Aurangzeb, of the murder of his two brothers. "How do you still regard the memory of Khusru and Parviz whom you did to death before your accession, and who had threatened no injury to you?"[1] However, he had won a good deal of military fame by subjugating Udaipur and Ahmadnagar, and had also brought to a successful issue the contest for supremacy which had arisen between him and Nur Jahan.

Plan

1. Accession.
2. The Warrior.
3. The Lover of Art.
4. The Administrator.
5. Character.
6. His sons.

I. ACCESSION

Rival Claimant. When Jahangir died in October 1627 Shah Jahan was in disgrace, and far away from the imperial court, in the distant Deccan. On the other hand, Prince Shahryar was the acknowledged heir-apparent, and present on the spot. He suffered the moment to pass, however, and was no match for the energetic Asaf Khan. The latter forthwith appointed one of the sons of the late Prince Khusru temporary successor to the throne. Prince Shahryar was taken prisoner, and blinded. Meanwhile Shah Jahan was

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 386.

hurrying northwards, and on his arrival had himself proclaimed Emperor. In order to remain in undisturbed possession of the throne, he gave the atrocious order that none of the race of Babar should be left alive but the Emperor's own children.

II. THE WARRIOR

Shah Jahan's rule was occupied with a number of military events. He fought with the Portuguese and with Khan Jahan Lodi. He waged war against the Persians and against Golkonda and Bijapur.

1. War with the Portuguese. The Portuguese settlers had established a warehouse at Hugli in Bengal where they had prospered under the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. Shah Jahan, however, was strongly opposed to them, for, when he rebelled against his father Jahangir, and was forced to seek refuge in Bengal, he solicited assistance from the Portuguese, and his request had been haughtily refused. Shah Jahan never forgot this insult. Furthermore, the Portuguese did not shrink from practising piracy, and it was said that they were bent on acquiring more extensive territories and were accordingly mounting cannon on their fort at Hugli. Thereupon Shah Jahan gave orders that the infidels should be expelled. In 1632 Hugli was besieged for fourteen weeks by a great imperial army, and finally captured. Some of the besieged escaped in boats, but the greater number were either captured or killed.

2. War with Khan Jahan Lodi, 1630-1632. Khan Jahan Lodi, an Afghan general in the imperial service, was viceroy of the Deccan. Like so many other warlike chieftains, he was only loyal as long as he could not safely be hostile. In 1630 he made a bid for supremacy, and allied himself with the ruler of Ahmadnagar against

the Moghul Emperor. But the imperial forces marched against him, and his defiance of the Emperor's authority ended in his defeat and death, 1632.

3. War in Afghanistan, 1649-1653. Kandahar was the most important city in Afghanistan, for it commanded the great trade-route from Persia into India. Accordingly both Persians and Moghuls never ceased contending for its possession, and time after time the city changed hands. During Shah Jahan's reign the Persians succeeded in capturing it, 1649. But the Emperor left no means untried to recover the lost city. No less than three great military expeditions were organised to effect this. The first two were commanded by Aurangzeb, and the third was led by Shah Jahan's favourite and eldest son, Prince Dara. On each occasion the expeditionary force laid siege to the city, but both Aurangzeb and Dara were doomed to taste the bitter fruits of defeat and had to confess to failure.

4. War in the Deccan, 1636-1656. The wars in the Deccan may be divided into two periods.

The first period extended from 1636 to 1644, during which time Aurangzeb was Viceroy of the Deccan. As a result of Khan Jahan Lodi's rebellion and his alliance with the ruler of Ahmadnagar the whole country was in a state of permanent unrest. Accordingly much of Aurangzeb's time was occupied in quelling local rebellions, and besieging mountain forts. Among the disturbers of the peace Shahji Bhonsle, Shivaji's father, deserves special mention, for he was one of the first Marathas that began against the Moghul invaders that long series of persistent attacks which were finally to become one of the causes of the downfall of the Moghul Empire. It was no difficult task for the young Viceroy to deal with each insurrection individually and to

capture one fort after another. He even succeeded in defeating the ally of Khan Jahan Lodi, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and annexed that kingdom, 1637.[1] Furthermore, he compelled the King of Bijapur and Golkonda, who on that occasion had aided the King of Ahmadnagar, to pay tribute to the Moghul Empire, 1636.[2]

The second period in the history of the Deccan warfare is marked by the subjugation of Golkonda, and by the siege of Bijapur. After his double failure to capture Kandahar, 1649-1652, Aurangzeb was a second time appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. He was anxious to make good the loss of military reputation which he had suffered in Afghanistan. Accordingly he forced war upon the kingdom of Golkonda, and laid siege to its capital; and though, through the timely interference of both Shah Jahan and Prince Dara, the city was spared the horrors of capitulation, yet the King of Golkonda had to pay a large indemnity, and to give up part of his territory, 1656.[3] Aurangzeb then turned his attention to the kingdom of Bijapur, and likewise besieged its capital. But while this was in progress, Aurangzeb received the news of his father's dangerous illness. He therefore made a compromise with the ruler of Bijapur, accepted a heavy fine on condition that the siege should be raised, and marched northwards, 1657.[4]

III. THE LOVER OF ART

Shah Jahan was a passionate lover of art. He was a builder of cities and palaces. The capital of the Empire was transferred from Agra to Shahjahanabad, or New-Delhi, planned and erected under the Emperor's super-

[1] Pope, 156.
[2] Hunter, 361.
[3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 406.
[4] Pope, 111.

vision. Again the Taj Mahal and the Pearl Mosque at Agra and the great Jumma Masjid at Delhi are works of unsurpassed architectural skill, and masterpieces of such wondrous beauty that it has been said that Shah Jahan's workmen "built like giants and finished their work like jewellers."[1] The Emperor had also a passion for jewels, and loved to make a fantastic display of his wealth. The splendour of his court, his peacock throne of priceless value, the practice of celebrating the anniversary of his coronation by having himself yearly weighed against gold pieces, which were afterwards scattered among the crowd, are so many examples of the extraordinary pleasure he took in the display of his wealth; and this lavishness of expenditure has gained for him in history the name of Shah Jahan the Magnificent.

IV. ADMINISTRATOR

But in spite of Shah Jahan's genius for spending money, the public treasury was in no danger of being depleted by this uninterrupted drain of stupendous expenditure. To account for this apparent anomaly, it must be borne in mind that Shah Jahan ascended the throne after the Moghul Empire had enjoyed for a long time the beneficial effects of comparative peace. Furthermore, he inherited the wealth of Akbar, whose land revenue system had filled the coffers of the State to overflowing; and, as the yearly land revenue kept steadily on the increase during Jahangir's reign, Shah Jahan, on his accession to the throne, found himself in possession of enormous stores of money. Moreover, this lavish monarch was a skilled administrator. He availed himself of the services of Murshid Kuli Khan, who was a

[1] Pope, 113.

revenue officer of great skill, and who did for Shah Jahan what Todar Mall had done for Akbar. Murshid Kuli Khan extended Todar Mall's system of assessment to the Deccan, with the result that Shah Jahan's land revenue exceeded by one-half the vast sums which Akbar annually collected. Moreover, the Emperor made it a point to enforce with the greatest strictness the civil government of the country. He displayed a special interest in the public highways being made absolutely secure. The result was that agriculture and commerce flourished, while the people were on the whole prosperous.

V. SHAH JAHAN'S CHARACTER

But, in spite of Shah Jahan's military exploits, in spite of his magnificence and wise administration, there was much in the Emperor's character calling for unqualified condemnation and unrestricted censure. He stands accused by his own sons of the murder of his two brothers. Besides this, on his accession, he pitilessly put to death all his male collateral relatives. Finally in his way of meting out punishments, he often displayed a revolting cruelty.[1]

VI. SHAH JAHAN'S SONS

In 1657 Shah Jahan fell dangerously ill, and on this occasion Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, were all equally eager to secure the crown, and forthwith engaged in fratricidal warfare. Shuja was the first to proclaim himself Emperor in Bengal, 1657; next Murad followed his example in Ahmadabad, 1657. Aurangzeb was more cautious, and abstained for the time being from exercising imperial prerogatives.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 415-418.

Meanwhile Shah Jahan and Dara, the heir-apparent, were making frantic efforts to persuade the rebel princes that the Emperor's life was not in danger. But the princes did not want to be persuaded. In order to justify their rebellion they preferred to believe that Dara intended to do away with his father.[1] Shuja was the first to march at the head of his soldiers towards the capital, but was repulsed by the imperial forces. Dara was, however, not equally successful in dealing with the combined attack of Aurangzeb and Murad. At the head of the imperial forces, he was twice defeated by his brothers in the battles of Dharmat and that of Samugarh, 1658.[2]

After the victory of Samugarh the Emperor was imprisoned, and lived in captivity in his palace at Agra for the remaining eight years of his life. He died in 1666.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb was intent on getting rid of his rivals. After the victory he invited his brother Murad to a banquet, plied him with wine, and, when he was helplessly drunk, made him a prisoner. Two years later he found a pretext to have him executed. After he had imprisoned Murad, Aurangzeb marched against Dara, defeated him, made him a prisoner, and finally made him share Murad's fate. Shuja was likewise defeated by the imperial force, and was driven across Bengal to Dacca, and thence across the Arakan border. In Arakan he and his family were slaughtered by the Arakanese. Thus Aurangzeb secured the throne for himself; but the hands that wielded the imperial sceptre were dyed with his brothers' blood.

[1] Lane Poole, 35-41.
[2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 410.

SUMMARY

I. The Warrior

A. Before his accession : He overcame the opposition of the Rajputs, defeated Malik Ambar in the Deccan, and frustrated Nur Jahan's attempt to deprive him of the throne.

B. After his accession : (1) His armies defeated the Portuguese, who had refused him assistance when he was a fugitive in Bengal (capture of Hugli, the defenders killed, or enslaved). (2) His armies defeated Khan Jahan Lodi, who rebelled in the Deccan. (3) His son, Aurangzeb, during his first viceroyalty defeated the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and annexed his kingdom. (4) Shah Jahan organised the expeditions against the Persians to obtain possession of Kandahar. The first two were commanded by Aurangzeb, the third by Dara ; all ended in failure. (5) Aurangzeb during his second viceroyalty in the Deccan defeated Golkonda and besieged Bijapur. The city was saved by the news of Shah Jahan's illness.

II. Lover of Art

He built New Delhi, the Taj Mahal, the Pearl Mosque at Agra, and the Jumma Masjid at Delhi. He made a fantastic display of his wealth.

III. The Administrator

1. He watched over the security of the highways.
2. Agriculture and commerce flourished.
3. He extended Todar Mall's land revenue system to the Deccan.
4. His land revenue exceeded by one half the amount collected by Akbar.
5. Result : He could afford to be liberal without emptying the coffers of the state.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short biographical sketch of Shah Jahan. (Summary.)
2. What military events took place during Shah Jahan's reign ? (II.)
3. What do you know of Shah Jahan as a lover of Art ? (III.)
4. Write a note on Shah Jahan's administration. (IV.)
5. Write a note on the fratricidal war among Shah Jahan's sons. (VI.)

6. Write a note on Murshid Kuli Khan. (IV.)

7. How do you account for the fact that in spite of Shah Jahan's stupendous expenditure the public treasury was not depleted ? (IV.)

No. 6.—AURANGZEB, AN ARDENT VOTARY OF ISLAM, 1658-1707

Antecedents. Aurangzeb played an important part in public affairs before his accession to the throne. On two different occasions he was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. During his first term of office, 1636-1644, his time was occupied in quelling local rebellions and besieging mountain forts; during that time he also annexed Ahmadnagar, and compelled Bijapur and Golkonda to pay tribute. He was again appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1654, and once more adopted the traditional Moghul policy of conquest, subjugated Golkonda, and besieged Bijapur. Before he was appointed for the second time Viceroy of the Deccan, he was put in command of the first two military expeditions organised to recapture Kandahar, in 1649 and 1652. But he was no match for the Persian generals, and had twice to confess to failure. In 1657, when the Emperor Shah Jahan fell ill, Aurangzeb by his cunning succeeded in getting rid of his brothers, imprisoned his father, and ascended the throne in 1658.

Plan

1. Apparent Success
2. Real Failure.
3. Akbar and Aurangzeb.

I. APPARENT SUCCESS

Aurangzeb was apparently a most successful Emperor under whose reign the Moghul Empire reached the

summit of its power and glory. A brief record of the chief events of his reign lends itself singularly to misinterpretation in this respect.

Thus, for example, in 1663 Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, successfully invaded Assam, which was sacked and ravaged. In 1666 Shayista Khan, one of the ablest of Aurangzeb's generals, conquered and annexed Arakan. In 1672 the imperial forces quelled the Satnami rebellion, and defeated the rebels at Narnaul, south-west of Delhi. From 1678 to 1680 Aurangzeb waged war with the Rajputs, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and was apparently victorious. Next he defeated Akbar his youngest son, and forced him to retreat into the Deccan, and finally to flee to Persia, 1680. In 1686 he conquered and annexed Bijapur. Besides this, from 1664 to 1707 he was at war with the Marathas.

It is true that he was not so successful against the Marathas as against his other enemies, but neither can it be said that he was defeated by them; for under his reign the equilibrium of the Empire continued. He extended the limits of the Empire by finally conquering and annexing Bijapur, Golkonda and all the territory south of the Kistna which had been dependent on these two kingdoms; even the Polygars who dwelt in the extreme south of India were compelled to pay tribute to the Moghul Emperor.[1] When he died, the Moghul Empire was bounded on the north by the Indus and the Himalayan mountains, and on the south by the river Cauvery; whilst in breadth it extended from the western shores of Gujarat to the Bay of Bengal.

Another instance to show that Aurangzeb's reign was apparently the palmy period of the Empire is the

[1] Joppen, Map 15.

stupendous revenue which yearly filled the coffers of the State. The land revenue alone amounted to over Rs. 480,000,000, twice as much as Akbar received to defray the expenses of the State; whilst the revenue from all sources has been estimated at Rs. 1,200,000,000[1]

II. REAL FAILURE

But in spite of the conquests which he made Aurangzeb has rightly been looked upon as the man who brought about the destruction of the Moghul Empire, although the ruin did not come till after he had passed away.[2]

Causes of Failure. Aurangzeb's failure was entirely of his own making, and the source of his misfortunes was inherent in his character.

(a) *Suspiciousness.* First of all, Aurangzeb never trusted those who surrounded him. He had a taster to taste his food; his physician had to sample all prescriptions, pill for pill, and dose for dose. He kept up an army of official reporters who communicated the most trifling events and conversations that came under their notice. He kept moving his officers about, placing them as far as possible from their estates, and often keeping their wives and children as pledges at his court. He treated his sons as he treated his nobles, and upon a mere suspicion of disloyalty kept his second son in captivity for six years.[3] The result of this policy was that he created about him that atmosphere of general distrust so detrimental to true-hearted loyalty.

(b) *Religious Policy.* What contributed more than anything else to Aurangzeb's failure was his religious fanaticism; for nothing in his life—neither throne,

[1] Hunter, 357. [2] Wren, 77. [3] Lane-Poole, 83-86.

nor love, nor ease—weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam.[1] He looked upon the Hindus as unbelievers, and despised the Shias as renegades, with the result that he alienated the Hindus both in Rajputana and in the Deccan, and weakened the Moghul forces by waging war against Bijapur and Golkonda.

(c) *Alienation of Hindus in general.* He inaugurated a campaign of religious persecutions, and ordered many Hindu temples to be razed to the ground. This led to a peasant rising, known as the Satnami revolt, in the Punjab. The rebellion was, however, crushed, and followed by more stringent legislation against the Hindus. He revived the Jizya, the hateful capitation tax, imposed on the Hindus because of their religious belief; he put a stop to Akbar's far-seeing policy of securing the loyalty and friendship, of the Rajput chieftains by marriages between Hindus and Moghuls; and he deprived the Hindus of every office in the civil administration of the country and in the army. The result was that the Hindus from loyal subjects became discontented drudges, anxious and ready to shake off the Moghul yoke.

(d) *Alienation of the Rajputs.* Whilst the relations between the Rajputs and the Moghul Emperor were thus almost strained to breaking point, Aurangzeb tried to seize the children of the late Jaswant Singh of Udaipur either to keep them as hostages, or to convert them to Islam.[2] This impolitic attempt stirred the whole of Rajputana, and all the States, with the exception of Amber, took up the cause of outraged national honour. Rajputana was invaded, 1678; Hindu temples were destroyed wholesale with fanatical fury; and all the

[1] Lane-Poole, 64. [2] *Ibid.* 139.

horrors of a ruthless war of extermination were visited upon the unhappy people.[1]

The Rajputs had to yield to overwhelming odds, and in 1681 the Rana had to make further territorial concessions to Aurangzeb. But the revolt was only partially subdued, and the Rajputs, who had once been the most faithful of friends, became the most determined of foes. During the whole of Aurangzeb's reign Rajputana was in a state of ferment, and that special form of fighting, which is known as guerrilla warfare, continued without interruption. Accordingly Aurangzeb had to keep a large and expensive army in the field which was rendered practically useless by the military tactics adopted by the Rajputs.

(e) *Alienation of Deccan Hindus.* The tragedy of Rajputana was repeated on a still larger scale in the Deccan. A young Maratha chieftain, called Shivaji, took advantage of Aurangzebs short-sighted policy of religious persecution to gather the discontented Hindus round him. Some of his soldiers, such as the Mawalas, were far from being highly civilised, but they proved themselves excellent fighting men, and their loyalty to their chieftain was proverbial.

First of all Shivaji captured a number of hill-forts; next he turned his attention to the Konkan, and captured Kalyan. Such was his success that the kingdom of Bijapur got alarmed, and a strong army commanded by Afzul Khan was despatched against Shivaji. Before the forces of Bijapur came to grips with the Marathas, Afzul Khan and Shivaji agreed to have an interview in order to arrange matters peacefully. But during the interview Shivaji killed Afzul Khan, and immediately following up this

[1] Pope, 116.

advantage the Marathas fell on the Bijapur army. and destroyed it.

Emboldened by success, Shivaji extended the sphere of his military operations, till at last Aurangzeb found it necessary to send Shayista Khan to the Deccan. But Shayista Khan fared no better than Afzul Khan. When on the approach of the rainy season he retired to Poona, he was one night visited by Shivaji accompanied by a few trusty followers. He with difficulty made his escape through a window, whilst his son was killed in the affray. This was the beginning of long years of strife, in which the Marathas followed the same military tactics as the Rajputs, and waged an uninterrupted guerrilla war.

N.B.—The following were the chief causes of Aurangzeb's failure and Shivaji's success :

I. First of all, there was a great difference between the opposing armies, and the difference was all in favour of the Marathas :

1. The Moghul army was large and unwieldy, and consequently could only move about slowly.	1. Shivaji's bands were small ; could cover long distances in a short time ; and often appeared and disappeared most unexpectedly.
2. The size of the Moghul forces rendered the task of provisioning them difficult, especially as the Marathas used to lay waste the neighbouring country, thus cutting off supplies.	2. The Marathas, on the contrary, experienced no such difficulty ; for each fighting man carried his own rations to last him for several days.
3. The Moghul soldiers were no match for the Marathas. Love of ease and comfort had made them effeminate.	3. The Marathas were sturdy mountaineers, lived simple lives, and were inured to physical fatigue.

II. Furthermore, there was a great difference between the two leaders :

1. Aurangzeb was suspicious, scarcely trusted his own generals, and was but poorly served.

2. Aurangzeb made his position still more hopeless by turning his allies into foes. Instead of joining forces with Bijapur and Golkonda, who had always opposed Maratha encroachments, he fought against them, and destroyed them.

1. Shivaji succeeded in securing the wholehearted support of his followers, whose loyalty to their chieftain never for a moment wavered.

2. Shivaji was moreover no mean strategist; he carefully avoided every pitched battle, and was content to wage a guerrilla war.

(*f*) *War with Bijapur and Golkonda.* Aurangzeb's religious policy also deprived him of the support of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. For, in waging war against the Sultans of the South, Aurangzeb was less bent on stretching wider the boundaries of his great Empire than on bringing the lands of the heretical Shias within the dominion of orthodox Islam.[1]

Bijapur was besieged and captured, its young king Sikandar was imprisoned for life, and Bijapur ceased to exist as an independent State, 1686. The following year Golkonda shared the same fate; for, though Aurangzeb failed to capture the city by force of arms, he successfully had recourse to bribery, and with the fall of its capital the kingdom was added to the Moghul Empire.

But the annexation of Bijapur and Golkonda was a great political blunder. By constantly waging war Aurangzeb seriously weakened his own army—the defeat of the Muhammadan Sultanates greatly affecting Moghul prestige in the Deccan, inasmuch as it freed the Maratha chiefs from all fear of local rivalry. Moreover, the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda served only to increase the number of Aurangzeb's enemies, for very

[1] Lane-Poole, 65.

many discharged soldiers, most of them discontented and outraged Shias, were let loose all over the country; and endeavoured to gain an easy livelihood by entering on a professional career of plundering and robbery.

III. AKBAR AND AURANGZEB

First of all there is this similarity between them: both were great conquerors.

During Akbar's reign the Moghul Empire conprised the whole of Hindustan north of a wavy line running from Bassein to Cuttack.

During Aurangzeb's reign the Moghul Empire comprised the whole of Hindustan north of the Cauvery.

But even as a conqueror Akbar surpassed Aurangzeb.

Akbar was surrounded by difficulties on all sides, his army was but small; his soldiers had but lately been defeated by Sher Shah; the country to be conquered was large; whilst religious prejudices caused him to be disliked both by Hindus and Muhammadans.

Aurangzeb had practically no difficulties to overcome when he ascended the throne.

And in every other respect there is the greatest difference between them.

Akbar was a wise politician; he made friends with his own feudatory chieftains; he conciliated the Hindus, and broke down the religious barriers between Hindus and Moghuls; he inaugurated a policy of marriage alliances between Hindus and Muhammadans; he made friends of the Rajput Princes whom he had vanquished; and he trusted them with responsible positions

Aurangzeb was very impolitic; he destroyed the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda, and thus greatly lessened Muhammadan prestige in the Deccan. He alienated the Hindus by his religious fanaticism. He razed their temples to the ground; revived the Jizya; closed to them every office in the civil administration of the country and in military service; and

both in the civil administration of the country and in the army. The result was that both Hindus and Moghuls fought side by side against the enemies of the empire.

treated them as a conquered race. The result was that the Rajputs and the Marathas turned against him.

SUMMARY

I. Before his Accession

1. During his first viceroyalty in the Deccan he defeated, and annexed Ahmadnagar.

2. Led two unsuccessful expeditions against the Persians.

3. During his second viceroyalty in the Deccan he defeated Golkonda and besieged Bijapur.

II. After his Accession

A. Apparent success: (1) His armies overran Assam, and annexed Arakan. (2) Suppressed the Satnami insurrection. (3) Defeated the Rajputs. (4) Put down a rebellion started by his son, Akbar. (5) Fought in the Deccan, annexed Bijapur and Golkonda.

N.B.—His empire extended as far south as the Cauvery.

B. Real Failure (Causes): (1) His character: suspicious, trusted none, and was badly served. (2) His religious fanaticism made him hate the Hindus and despise the Shias. (*a*) Alienation of Hindus: temples destroyed, dismissal from service, end of marriage alliances, Jizya. Rajputs: waged guerrilla warfare, no decisive Moghul victory. Deccan Hindus: under the leadership of Shivaji the Hindus attacked the Moghuls, and successfully waged a long guerrilla warfare. (*b*) Destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda: they were annexed, but their suppression made the Hindus stronger.

III. Result

The Moghul power was declining, the Maratha power was in the ascendant.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short biographical sketch of Aurangzeb. (Summary.)

2. Write a note on Aurangzeb's character. (Summary, II, B.)

3. Substantiate the following statement: "Aurangzeb's long reign was apparently a success, but in reality it was a failure." (Summary.)

4. Substantiate the following statement: "Akbar created the Moghul Empire; the rule of Aurangzeb destroyed it, though the ruin did not come in his time, but soon after he had passed away. (Summary, II, B.)

5. What was the part played by the Rajputs in the history of the Moghul Empire during the reign of Akbar and during that of Aurangzeb? (II, *d.*)

6. Compare the *jizya* with the imposition of shipmoney.

7. Show that the Deccan was the grave of the Moghul Empire. (II.)

8. Account for Aurangzeb's failure in his campaign against Shivaji. (II, *N.B.*)

9. Substantiate the following statement: "When the Moghul Emperor of the north fought with the Deccan Sultans of the south, both were weakened; and a Hindu kingdom arose which grew stronger and stronger." (II, *f.*)

10. Compare and contrast Akbar and Aurangzeb. (III.)

CHAPTER II

THE BREAK-UP OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE
1707-1858

Plan

1. The first Six Emperors of the Falling Empire.
2. The last Five Puppet Emperors.

No. 1.—THE FIRST SIX EMPERORS OF THE FALLING EMPIRE, 1707-1748

THE causes of the downfall of the Moghul Empire between the years 1707 and 1748 were the following: the state in which the Empire was when Aurangzeb, died, the worthlessness of Aurangzeb's successors, internal dissensions, and external aggressions.

1. The State of the Empire at Aurangzeb's Death. Aurangzeb's long reign was spent in constant and uninterrupted fighting, and his armies had grown exhausted while the determination of his opponents resulted in a serious loss of military prestige for the Moghul arms; his policy of religious oppression had alienated the Hindus; finally he further weakened the Moghul Empire when he brought about the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda. The result was that upon his death the Moghul Empire was in a state of ferment and unrest.

2. Worthlessness of Aurangzeb's Successors. The first six Emperors of the falling Empire were incompetent rulers; the first two emperors, Bahadur Shah, 1707-1712, and Jahandar Shah, 1712-1713, were under

the influence of a capable but unscrupulous General, Zulfikar Khan.

The next four, Farrukhsiyar, 1713-1719, and three Boy-Emperors (of whom the first two died within a few months after their accession, whilst the third, Muhammad Shah, reigned from 1719 to 1748), were crowned by the efforts of two notorious adventurers, who earned for themselves the title of King-makers. It stands to reason that with such rulers to preside over its destiny, the Empire was bound to come to ruin.

3. Internal Dissensions. The Empire was also torn asunder by internal dissensions which were in the first instance caused by repeated contests for the succession to the throne. In the next place the equilibrium of the Empire was seriously disturbed by the Sikhs. These were originally a religious sect, but as their belief differed from that of the Hindus and Muhammadans, religious disturbances soon followed and further weakened the Empire.

Finally all over the Empire the Hindus became eager to throw off the Moghul yoke. The Rajputs were the first to assert their independence, 1709, and the Marathas naturally followed suit. The latter began to exact chauth from the Moghul territories in the Deccan, 1718. Next they started upon a campaign to acquire new territory and by the treaty of Seronje, in 1738, obtained Malwa and all the territory between the Narbada and the Chambal. Towards 1740, with the rise of great Maratha families, the frontiers of the Moghul Empire were pushed back further still, to make room for the kingdoms of the Peshwa, Holkar, Sindia, Bhonsle and the Gaikwar. Meanwhile a number of independent kingdoms were springing up all over the Empire. Bengal, Behar, Oudh, Hyderabad, and the

Carnatic were ruled by independent Muhammadan kings; while Hindu kingdoms were founded in Trichinopoly, Mysore, Malabar, Travancore and Cochin.

4. External Aggressions. The Moghul Empire received a more terrible blow still from the attack of a neighbouring State. In 1738, Nadir Shah, the Emperor of Persia and Afghanistan, marched upon Delhi, captured it, ordered the massacre of its inhabitants, and returned to his native land carrying off the Peacock throne, the State treasury, and the wealth of the inhabitants.

Conclusion. Towards the year 1748 the mighty Moghul Empire had been reduced to a strip of land a little more than 100 miles broad, and about 300 miles long; it was bounded on the north by the Sutlej, on the west by Rajputana, on the south by the Chambal up to its juncture with the Jumna, and on the east by the upper course of the Ganges.

No. 2.—THE LAST FIVE PUPPET EMPERORS 1748-1858

During the last one hundred years of its existence the disintegration of the Moghul Empire steadily continued.

In 1747 Ahmad Shah, Nadir Shah's successor to the throne of Persia, made a first attempt to invade India. On that occasion, however, the Moghul army drove back the invader; and won its last victory on the battlefield of Sirhind. But the defeated Persian Emperor was anxious to retrieve the losses which he had sustained. Accordingly he made two more incursions into India to the great detriment of the already tottering Empire, 1748 and 1757. Four years later,

[1] Joppen. Map 19.

1761, Ahmad Shah defeated the Marathas at Panipat, afterwards capturing Delhi; and the Moghul Empire, filched of all its resources, practically ceased to exist.

Finally the British took advantage of the disorder and confusion which reigned all over the country, and laid, in India, the foundations of British power. The last three Moghul Emperors were emperors in name and not in deed. Muhammad Bahadur, the last representative of the House of Timur, took sides against the English on the occasion of the Mutiny of 1857; was deposed, and banished to Rangoon, where he died in 1862. His two sons and grandsons were shot by Hodson in 1857; so that, with the death of Muhammad Bahadur, the House of Timur died out.

SUMMARY

I. Aurangzeb

(*See* Summary on Aurangzeb: His failure.)

II. After Aurangzeb

A. During the first half of the eighteenth century, 1700-1741. (1) Worthless successors, two of them controlled by Zulfikar Khan, four of them controlled by the King-makers. (2) Internal dissensions: Contests for succession, military achievements of the Sikhs, successful attempts of the Rajputs and Marathas to cast off the Moghul yoke, formation of independent kingdoms in Bengal and in Southern India. (3) External Aggressions: The invasion of Nadir Shah.

B. During the last half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, 1748-1858. (1) Ahmad Shah's invasion and occupation of Delhi. (2) Preponderance of British influence. (3) Deposition of Muhammad Bahadur after the Mutiny.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes that brought about the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire after Aurangzeb's death? (Summary.)

2. Write a note to show how the break-up of the Moghul Empire proceeded both from within and without. (Summary.)

3. What external aggressions contributed to a large extent to the downfall of the Moghul Empire? (I, 4; II.)

BOOK IV

THE MARATHA POWER

1646–1818

I. Shivaji, 1646-1680.
II. Sambhaji, 1680-1689.
III. Raja Ram and Tarabai, 1689-1708 (*regency*)
IV. Shahu, 1708-1714-1748.

N.B.—In 1714 the Peshwas became the practical rulers of the country ; Shivaji's successors retired to Satara, which lapsed in 1849.

I. Balaji Vishwanath, 1714-1720.
II. Baji Rao I, 1720-1740.
III. Balaji Baji Rao, 1740-1761.
IV. Madho Rao, 1761-1772.
V. Narayan Rao, 1772-1773.
VI. Madho Rao II, 1773-1795.
VII. Baji Rao II, 1796-1818.

CHAPTER I

SHIVAJI AND HIS SUCCESSORS

No. 1.—SHIVAJI, 1627-46-1680

Introduction. Maharashtra, the country of the Marathas, is triangular in shape ; its vertices are Nandod, Goa, and the point where the upper course of the river Wainganga turns due south. Two sides of this triangular area, the western and the northern boundaries, running

respectively along the Arabian Sea and along the Satpura range, are almost straight lines. But the third side, which runs from Goa in a north-eastern direction till it reaches the upper course of the Wainganga, forms an irregular line, and resembles somewhat the steps of a flight of stairs. The western coast-strip between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats is called the Konkan, and the mountain valleys on the eastern edge of the Konkan were the home of the hardy Mawalas.[1]

When Babar invaded India in 1526, the Deccan was divided into five independent Sultanates: Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bijapur, Bidar, and Golkonda. In course of time these Muhammadan kingdoms were gradually absorbed by the Moghul Empire. But while, under Aurangzeb, the process of annexation was passing through its final stages, the Hindus of Maharashtra joined forces, and made a splendid and successful bid for freedom and national independence. Shivaji was the soul of this great national movement, and therefore the history of this revival is but the history of Shivaji, who is looked upon by all as the founder of the Maratha Kingdom

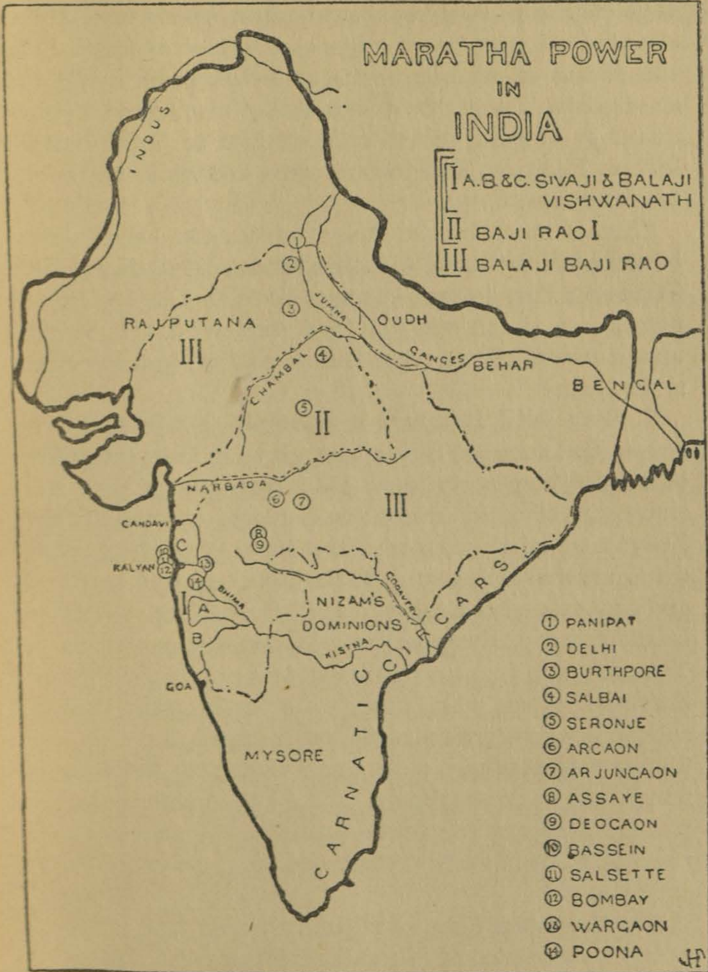
Plan

1. The Warrior.
2. The Statesman.
3. His Success.
4. Akbar, Shivaji and Aurangzeb.

I. THE WARRIOR

1. First Success, 1646-1648. Shivaji was born in 1627, and publicly assumed the leadership of his countrymen in 1646. During the first two years of military activity his powerful neighbours did not condescend to take any notice of this insignificant

[1] Joppen, Map 16.


MARATHA POWER
IN
INDIA
I A.B.&C. SIVAJI & BALAJI VISHWANATH
II BAJI RAO I
III BALAJI BAJI RAO
INDUS
RAJPUTANA
OUDH
JUMNA
CHAMBAL
GANGES
BEHAR
BENGAL
NARBADA
CANDAVI
KALYAN
BHIMA
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
GODAVERI
CIRCARS
KISTNA
GOA
MYSORE
CARNATIC
① PANIPAT
② DELHI
③ BURTHPORE
④ SALBAI
⑤ SERONJE
⑥ ARCAON
⑦ ARJUNCAON
⑧ ASSAYE
⑨ DEOCAON
⑩ BASSEIN
⑪ SALSETTE
⑫ BOMBAY
⑬ WARCAON
⑭ POONA

"mountain rat." He began his military career by capturing a number of forts among which was Torna, situated about twenty miles south-west of Poona. In the course of certain works undertaken to repair and strengthen Torna, he accidentally discovered a large quantity of gold, which enabled him to build another fort at Raigarh, and to buy arms and ammunition for his followers.

Shivaji then turned his attention to other neighbouring hill-forts. He captured successively Kondaneh, Gopa and Purandhar ;[1] so that little by little he gained possession of the strip of land contained between the upper course of the river Bhima and its tributary, the river Nira.[2]

2. War with Bijapur, 1649-1662. Emboldened by this initial success, Shivaji began to extend the sphere of his military activities. He intercepted a large consignment of gold which was being conveyed from Kalyan to Bijapur, seized the town of Kalyan, plundered several rich towns in the Konkan, and surprised and captured about ten other hill-forts. Such a wonderful display of military activity caused widespread alarm. The ruler of Bijapur accordingly sent orders that Shahji, Shivaji's father, who possessed a jahgir in the Deccan, should be forthwith seized, and brought to the capital. Shahji was confined in a small dungeon, the door of which was built up, except for a small opening ; and he was clearly given to understand that, if within a certain period his son did not submit, the aperture would be for ever closed.[3]

But the ruler of Bijapur had evidently failed to form a right estimate of Shivaji's cleverness. The wily Maratha leader managed to secure the protection of

[1] Sinclair, 100. [2] Joppen, Map 16. [3] Grant Duff, 120.

Shah Jahan, the then reigning Moghul Emperor, by professing that he, himself, and his father were both ready to enter into the imperial service. Thereupon the Moghul Emperor interceded in favour of Shivaji's father with the King of Bijapur, and, as the latter dared not ignore the wishes of the Great Moghul, Shahji was eventually spared, though he remained for four more years a prisoner at Bijapur. During these years Shivaji kept comparatively quiet, 1649-1653.

No sooner was his father released than Shivaji once more set to work with redoubled energy to extend his dominions. Meanwhile the Emperor Shah Jahan fell dangerously ill, and Prince Aurangzeb, the Governor of the Deccan, hastened to Delhi. Thus Shivaji was finally left free to deal with Bijapur.

An army of 5,000 horse and 7,000 infantry was despatched under the command of Afzul Khan for the purpose of crushing once and for all the ambitious Maratha, 1659. Before the armies engaged in battle, the two leaders, Afzul Khan and Shivaji, had an interview in order to come to a peaceful settlement, and during that interview Shivaji killed Afzul Khan. As soon as the Bijapur general had been killed, his soldiers were attacked on all sides by the Marathas, and were either cut to pieces or put to flight. After Bijapur's plan to crush the Marathas had thus miserably failed, Shivaji's position was considerably strengthened. He now ruled over the Konkan from Kalyan to Goa and his kingdom was about 160 miles long and from fifty to 100 miles broad.[1]

3. War with the Moghul Emperor, 1662-1680. After Bijapur had been reduced to a state of temporary helplessness, Shivaji ravaged Aurangzeb's dominions,

[1] Joppen, Map 16.

and his cavalry swept through the provinces of the Empire, striking terror wherever they went. Accordingly Aurangzeb ordered Shayista Khan, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to put a stop to Shivaji's marauding incursions. But Shayista Khan in his struggle with Shivaji fared little better than Afzul Khan of Bijapur.

On the approach of the rainy season the Viceroy took up his quarters at Poona, in the very house in which, it has been said, Shivaji had been brought up. There he found himself quite comfortable ; but his happiness did not last long. One night Shivaji with a few trusty followers managed to slip into the city, and paid an unexpected visit to his old home. Shayista Khan was surprised in his bed-chamber, and barely escaped through the window, having lost two of his fingers cut off by a Maratha blade as he was clinging to the window-sill and nerving himself for the drop into the public road. Amid the general confusion which followed, his son and several attendants were killed, while Shivaji and his companions made good their escape. With blazing torches they re-entered the fort of Singhur ; and the story of his exploit was told for many a night round the camp-fires, in the hill-forts, and in the peasants' huts, 1662.[1]

Two years later, 1664, Shivaji marched upon Surat, where the English had a factory. Though the latter put up a strong defence, Shivaji was victorious, captured the city, systematically plundered it, and compelled the inhabitants to disgorge their wealth. About this time Shivaji assumed the title of Raja.[2]

He next embarked on an entirely new venture. He collected a fleet of eighty-five sailing vessels, and with them infested the coastal trade-routes, and harassed the

[1] Pope, 167. [2] Lane-Poole, Aurangzeb, 162.

inhabitants of coastal towns and villages. But this exploit was destined to end more tragically than its originator had anticipated. Shivaji made bold to waylay vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca. Thereupon Aurangzeb, who was as staunch a Muhammadan as Shivaji was a zealous Hindu, sent a large army into the Deccan to avenge the insult thus inflicted on the Muhammadan faith.

Then for the first time in his military career Shivaji experienced the fickleness of fortune. His followers were helplessly outnumbered, and as the Moghul host advanced fort after fort was captured. After a while the Maratha leader had to acknowledge defeat. He signed the agreement of Purandhar, by which he surrendered twenty of his forts, being allowed to retain twelve others as a jahgir from the Emperor. In return he was conceded the right of levying *chauth* (*i.e.* one-fourth of the land revenue) and *sardesmukhi* (*i.e.* one additional tenth) in certain districts of the Bijapur kingdom, 1665.[1]

After the treaty of Purandhar, Shivaji repaired to the imperial court. A monarch like Akbar would have left no means untried to secure the Maratha's friendship; but Aurangzeb's short-sighted policy only roused his guest's resentment. Although Shivaji was kept under strict surveillance he managed to escape, and after an absence of nine months was back in his own country, 1666. During the next two years fortune again smiled on him, and the Maratha Power was once more in the ascendant. He recovered step by step the territories which he had lost; attacked Golkonda and Bijapur; compelled them to pay tribute, 1668; plundered a second time the city of Surat, 1670; defeated the

[1] Sinclair, 103.

Moghul armies; and was crowned Raja of the Marathas in 1674.

4. Southern Conquests of Shivaji. After he had been crowned Raja, he began to plan what Grant Duff calls "the most important expedition of his life." He invaded the Carnatic; captured the fortress of Jinji; took Vellore and many other important places; and secured for himself a half-share in the Tanjore principality. He returned to Raigarh in 1679, and died the following year. At the time of his death his kingdom stretched from Gandevi to Goa, and was about 300 miles long and from fifty to 100 miles broad.[1]

II. THE STATESMAN

Shivaji was possessed of considerable administrative ability, as is made plain by the reforms which he introduced.

1. Prants. For the purpose of administration Shivaji divided his kingdom into fourteen districts called *prants*. Each *prant* consisted of several villages, and was guarded by forts. The officer-in-charge of the *prant* decided all criminal cases, and had the civil cases submitted to the village panchayat whose decision he enforced. He also supervised the collection of the revenue.[2]

2. Land Revenue. The revenue system was based on the productiveness of the soil—the assessment being made on the crop—and the normal share claimed by the State was two-fifths of the produce. The revenue was collected by Shivaji's officers, and thus all vicious exploitation and the consequent plunder of the peasant class by greedy zemindars was stopped.[3] The proceeds of the land revenue were further increased by the levy-

[1] Joppen, Map 16. [2] Takakhav, 384. [3] *Ibid.* 385-387.

ing of chauth and sardesmukhi. Chauth was, as a rule, not raised in the Maratha kingdom, but in the neighbouring Moghul provinces. The payment of chauth nominally secured for the inhabitants the protection of the Marathas. In reality it very often amounted to a kind of blackmail which the people had to pay, unless they preferred to see their fields ravaged and their goods and chattels carried off by marauding Marathas.

3. Ashta Pradhan. Finally the most remarkable of Shivaji's administrative reforms was the establishment of the *Ashta Pradhan*, or eight departments into which the work of administration was divided. Each department was presided over by an officer appointed by the King, the most important post being held by the Peshwa. This institution can therefore be best described as the Maratha Cabinet. The heads of departments did the work of ministers, and the Peshwa was practically the Prime Minister.

By this institution Shivaji expected to control effectively the doings of subordinate government officials. At the same time he meant to secure the future peace of the kingdom during the critical periods which always intervened between the death of one monarch and the accession to the throne of his successor. For, according to Shivaji's plan, the Ashta Pradhan was to remain in power during the time when the throne was vacant, in order to prevent the country from going to rack and ruin in the midst of the political unrest which was always associated with the contest for the succession. Moreover, in order to safeguard the royal authority, the offices of the ministers and of the Peshwa were not hereditary. Accordingly the Ashta Pradhan, introduced by Shivaji, makes it plain that the Maratha

leader was not an uncivilised barbarian, but a man possessed of real administrative genius.[1]

III. SHIVAJI'S SUCCESS

Causes of Success. Shivaji's career was eminently successful, and the following causes were chiefly responsible. First of all he took advantage of the contempt in which he was at first held by the ruler of Bijapur and by the Moghul Emperor, gradually to extend his dominions. In the second place, he profited by Aurangzeb's narrow policy of religious oppression, and identified his personal interests with the cause of religion and national freedom. Furthermore, he knew how to respect the religious feelings of the Muhammadans. He never touched a mosque, nor ever destroyed a copy of the Qoran. Towards the inhabitants of the countries which he conquered he showed mercifulness and restraint, forbade the abduction into slavery of their wives and daughters, and treated his conquered enemies, not as slaves, but as subjects.

Moreover his army was skilfully organised with a graduation of officers to command companies of infantry and troops of cavalry. It was different from all other armies in its complete freedom from the curse of female followers; the campaigning lasted from October to May[2] and for the rainy season, when military operations were impossible, it retired into quarters.

Whilst in the field, Shivaji was very careful to avoid any pitched battles with the superior armies of his opponents. He was satisfied with cutting off food supplies, fighting rear-guard actions, or ambushing smaller bodies of the enemy, that had strayed far from the Moghul camp. Besides this, Shivaji's soldiers were

[1] Takakhav, 370-374. [2] *Ibid.* 387-389

sturdy mountaineers, hardened by a life of temperance and sobriety, inured to fatigue, thinking nothing of crossing mountains and valleys, ever on the move, and always on the alert. Finally he succeeded in making himself the idol of his followers, and was served by them with unswerving loyalty and faithfulness.

IV. AKBAR, AURANGZEB AND SHIVAJI

If we wish to compare and contrast Akbar, Aurangzeb and Shivaji, we may consider them as warriors, as statesmen, and as private individuals.

A. As Warriors. All three were great warriors and famous conquerors. Akbar and Aurangzeb considerably extended the frontiers of the Moghul Empire, whilst Shivaji had first to conquer the country of which he afterwards became the ruler. But even in this respect Akbar and Shivaji stand high above Aurangzeb; for Akbar and Shivaji started their military careers at a great disadvantage and had many difficulties to overcome, whilst Aurangzeb was from the very beginning of his reign the ruler of a mighty, rich, and well-organised empire. Moreover, Aurangzeb's victories were nominal rather than real, for towards the end of his reign the Moghul army had become so weak that the ruin of the Empire was a foregone conclusion.

B. As Statesmen. Akbar and Shivaji were wise administrators and broad-minded politicians. Akbar strengthened Moghul prestige by making friends with other Muhammadan chieftains, and at the same time conciliated the Rajputs by his tolerance and forbearance. Shivaji, zealous Hindu as he was, never persecuted the Muhammadans. But Aurangzeb considerably weakened the Moghul power by the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, and at the same time alienated

the Hindus by his policy of religious persecution. Akbar and Shivaji introduced salutary reforms, they suppressed abuses, and established revenue systems, whilst reforms introduced by Aurangzeb—the reimposition of the Jizya and the dismissal of all Hindu officials—resulted only in rousing the hatred of the Hindu peoples.

C. As Individuals. Finally, Akbar and Shivaji, in their private dealings with those who surrounded them, knew how to gain the affection and loyalty of their subjects. On the contrary Aurangzeb never trusted any one, and his suspiciousness caused him to be very badly served.

From this we may conclude that Akbar and Shivaji were greater men than Aurangzeb ; and that Shivaji was more like Akbar in his real greatness than like Aurangzeb. In one respect Shivaji's administrative skill was superior even to Akbar's, for the Maratha Cabinet, or the Ashta Pradhan, is one of the most remarkable organisations in the whole history of the civil administration of India.

SUMMARY

I. The Warrior

A. Left undisturbed by Bijapur and the Moghuls : The "mountain rat" captured a number of forts, and the strip of land between the Bhima and the Nira.

B. Disturbed by Bijapur : (1) Shivaji seized Kalyan, and plundered other towns. (2) His father was imprisoned. (3) Shivaji secured the protection of Shah Jahan, and obtained his father's release. (4) He attacked Bijapur, and defeated Afzul Khan. (5) He annexed the Konkan from Kalyan to Goa.

C. Disturbed by the Moghuls : (1) He made raids into Moghul territory, and defeated Shayista Khan. (2) He plundered Surat, and attacked pilgrim vessels on their way to Mecca. (3) He was defeated by the Moghul forces, and lost all his territory. (4) He retrieved his losses, successfully attacked Bijapur and Golkonda, plundered Surat, defeated the Moghul

army, and was crowned Raja (Gandevi-Goa). (5) He led a successful expedition into the Carnatic.

II. The Administrator

A. Prants : (1) Kingdom was divided into fourteen districts or Prants. (2) Each Prant consisted of a number of villages guarded by forts. (3) Criminal cases judged by the officers at the head of the Prants. (4) Civil cases judged by village panchayat.

B. Land Revenue : (1) A land survey was made. (2) Assessment was based on the quality and quantity of land. (3) Together with sardesmukhi one-half of the produce was levied.

C. Ashta Pradhan : (1) The Maratha Cabinet, eight departmental administrative bodies with the Peshwa as Prime-Minister. (2) The Peshwaship not hereditary. (3) Purpose : to control the administration of the country and to secure peace whilst the throne was vacant.

III. Success

A. What he did (*See* The Warrior).

B. Causes of success: (1) Wise organisation of army: division into little bands ; guerrilla warfare during the dry season, each soldier carried his own provisions. (2) Did not oppress Muhammadans, nor enslaved those whom he vanquished. (3) He was a great statesman (*See* The Administrator).

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short biographical sketch of Shivaji. (Summary.)
2. Show that Shivaji was a great warrior and an able statesman. (I, II.)
3. What were the most important reforms introduced by Shivaji ? (II.)
4. How do you account for Shivaji's success in his struggle with Aurangzeb ? (III.)
5. What do you know of Shivaji's character ? (Summary.)
6. Compare and contrast Akbar, Aurangzeb and Shivaji. (IV.)
7. Show that Shivaji was more like Akbar than like Aurangzeb. (IV.)
8. Write a note on the Ashta Pradhan. (II, 3.)

No. 2.—SHIVAJI'S SUCCESSORS, 1680-1714

I. SAMBHAJI, 1680-1689

1. Accession. After Shivaji's death the Ashta Pradhan vainly endeavoured to prevent the usual civil strife which generally followed upon the ruler's death. Some Maratha nobles wished to place Raja Ram, Shivaji's younger son, on the throne. But Sambhaji, the elder son, who had apparently the greater number of supporters, marched against his younger brother and defeated him, 1680. His victory was followed by bloody reprisals, his rival's adherents were put to the sword, and Raja Ram himself was thrown into prison.

2. Rule. Sambhaji came from a warlike stock, and, though he had none of the genius of his father, he made at first a fair display of military skill. He gained distinction in his wars against the Portuguese at Goa, and bravely, though unsuccessfully, tried to take Jinjira by storm. He was, however, singularly lacking in self-control, and, when not fighting, led a life of habitual and excessive intemperance. He imprisoned the Peshwa, made Kalusha minister, and entrusted him with the government of the country, a task for which the latter was wholly unfit.[1] The result was that the ryots were overtaxed, and the soldiers, who were clamouring for their arrears of pay, began plundering.[2]

Such was the disturbed state of the country, that the Marathas failed to take advantage of Aurangzeb's lack of statesmanship, when he destroyed the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. It was a golden opportunity for the Marathas to settle accounts with the Moghul Emperor. Sambhaji, however, and his minister Kalusha, allowed the opportunity to slip by unheeded.

[1] Grant Duff, i. 261. [2] *Ibid.* 298.

Finally, the unworthy successor of the great Shivaji was surprised in a state of drunkenness by his Moghul enemies. He himself was executed, whilst his little son Shahu, also known as Shivaji II, was carried off to Delhi, there to be brought up at the effeminate imperial court, 1689.[1]

II. RAJA RAM'S AND TARA BAI'S REGENCY
1689-1700

1. Raja Ram, 1689-1700. As the successor to the Maratha throne was in the power of the Moghul Emperor, Raja Ram, Sambhaji's younger brother, was declared regent. The murder of their Raja by the Moghul Emperor, far from intimidating the Marathas, only served to draw them more closely together, in order to wreak their vengeance on the murderer.[2] Raja Ram at the head of the Maratha forces established himself at Jinji, where he was besieged by the Moghul army, and partly by skill, partly by intrigue, he managed for a long time to keep the besiegers at bay. When the city was finally captured in 1698, Raja Ram was allowed to escape, but he died two years later, 1700.[3]

2. Tara Bai, 1700-1708. Raja Ram's widow, Tara B , now began to play an important part in public affairs, and her influence was both beneficial and harmful to Maharashtra. The Marathas benefited by her regency (1700-1708), for she successfully withstood Aurangzeb's final attempt to conquer the Deccan, and it was during her regency that the Moghul armies were forced to retire into Ahmadnagar.

But she was also instrumental in bringing about dissensions and civil strife. She was a born intriguer, and tried to deprive Sambhaji's son, Shahu, of the

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 443. [2] Grant Duff, i. 307. [3] *Ibid.* 327.

throne, claiming the regency on behalf of her infant son, Shivaji ; and, after the latter had died, on behalf of Sambhaji, a son of her late husband by another wife. She was so powerful that she secured for her new protégé the State of Kolhapur.

The founding of Kolhapur was the first great schism among the Marathas ; and Tara Bai was thus the first to sow the seed of disunion, which in later days was doomed to prove so fatal to Maharashtra.

After Shahu (Shivaji II) had died, his posthumous son Raja Ram was acknowledged as his successor. Tara Bai once more intrigued to secure the regency for herself ; but her plans were frustrated by Balaji Baji Rao, who, besides being Peshwa, acted also as Regent on behalf of Raja Ram. Thereupon Tara Bai kept Raja Ram a close prisoner at Satara. She died in 1761.

III. SHAHU OR SHIVAJI II, 1708-1714-1748

Shahu ascended the throne in 1708. He had been brought up at the effeminate court of Delhi where he had learnt to be indolent, and to love ease and comfort.[1] His rule led only to internal dissensions, and increased the confusion. Then the Peshwa took advantage of Shahu's unfitness firmly to establish his own power. Balaji Vishwanath thus became the practical ruler of the country. He was in fact the fifth Peshwa, but such were his power and influence that he is commonly reckoned as the first, 1714.[2]

It is true that Shahu retained the title of king all through his life, but his power continued to dwindle till there was but the shadow of authority left to him. After his death, 1748, his successors were called Rajas of Satara ; and when, after the lapse of a century the last

[1] Grant Duff, i. 374. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 457.

representative of the dynasty founded by Shivaji died, the little territory over which he ruled was annexed by the English, 1849.

SUMMARY

I. Sambhaji

1. Defeated the attempts of his brother, Raja Ram, to secure the throne.

2. Fought successfully against the Portuguese.

3. Imprisoned the Peshwa, and made Kalusha minister (disorder).

4. Failed to profit by the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda.

5. Surprised in drunkenness, was murdered by the Moghuls.

II. Raja Ram

1. Brother of Sambhaji, Regent to Shahu.

2. Defended Jinji.

III. Tara Bai (Raja Ram's Widow)

1. Benefited Maharashtra : opposed Aurangzeb.

2. Was harmful to Maharashtra : intrigued in favour of her son, and of Sambhaji ; the founding of Kolhapur was the beginning of disunion among the Marathas.

IV. Shahu (Shivaji II)

1. Effeminate and unfit to rule.

2. Was superseded by the Peshwa.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on Shivaji's successors, 1680-1714. (Summary.)

2. Give a short account of Tara Bai's political activities. (II, 2.)

3. What circumstances led to the rise to power of the Peshwas ? (III.)

CHAPTER II

THE PESHWAS, 1714-1818

No. 1.—BALAJI VISHWANATH, THE FOUNDER 1714-1720

Plan

1. Founder of the Power of the Peshwas.
2. Organisation of the Kingdom.
3. Foundation of Maratha Supremacy.

Founder of the Power of the Peshwas. As it has already been said, he took advantage of Shahu's helplessness in order to usurp for himself the royal authority, and thus became the practical ruler of the country. Moreover he managed to make the Peshwaship hereditary in his family, so that he may rightly be said to be the founder of a dynasty.

Organisation of the Kingdom. With the view of putting an end to the internal dissensions, which were sapping the very foundations of the new Hindu Kingdom, he inaugurated a series of administrative reforms, established an elaborate revenue system, and reorganised the Maratha forces.

Foundation of the Maratha Supremacy. After he had thus secured peace and order at home, he made it his policy to extend the confines of the Maratha Kingdom. At the head of a body of 10,000 Marathas he marched to Delhi to the assistance of the Sayyid brothers, commonly known as the king-makers, against the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. When the latter had been defeated,

Balaji Vishwanath, by way of reward, was acknowledged absolute sovereign of the kingdom possessed by Shivaji at the time of his death, received the right to collect *chauth*, or one-fourth of the land revenue, over the whole of the Deccan, and was further allowed to claim an additional tenth of the land revenue (this additional tenth being called *sardesmukhi*). He remained in Delhi till after the defeat of the Sayyid king-makers and obtained a ratification of this treaty from the Emperor, Muhammad Shah. 1720. The latter is said even to have paid tribute to Balaji Vishwanath in order to preserve the territories around Delhi from being plundered by the Marathas. The first Peshwa did not long survive his return from Delhi; he died in October 1720.

SUMMARY

1. Usurped royal authority.
2. Made the Peshwaship hereditary.
3. Put an end to internal dissensions.
4. Introduced administrative reforms.
5. Established a land revenue system.
6. Reorganised the Maratha forces.
7. Recovered the kingdom of Shivaji.
8. Received tribute from Delhi.

No. 2.—BAJI RAO I, THE GREATEST PESHWA 1720-1740

Plan

1. The Statesman.
2. The Warrior.
3. The Greatest Peshwa.

The Statesman. *Rise of Royal Families.* **At the** time of his accession there were in the Maratha kingdom certain officers who had distinguished themselves on the battlefield, and who wielded a good deal of influence

over their immediate followers. Chief among them were Malhar Rao Holkar, a cavalry officer; Ranoji Sindia, at one time the Peshwa's slipper-bearer; and two other soldiers, Pilaji Gaikwar and Parsaji Bhonsle. They were eventually destined to become founders of royal families.[1]

But the Peshwa did not fail to realise that their presence and their growing power seriously endangered the unity of the kingdom and his own supremacy as well. He therefore prevented them from joining forces against him, and took care that each one was weaker than himself, thereby showing himself to be a wise politician. He kept them separated from one another, and allowed them a free hand in collecting chauth in distant and different territories. The Gaikwar operated in Gujarat, and Bhonsle in Berar; whilst Holkar and Sindia obtained allotments of the national right of collection in Malwa, the former establishing himself at Indore, the latter at Gwalior.

Thus Baji Rao kept these chieftains agreeably busy, preserved his own supremacy, and secured the unity of the Maratha kingdom.

The Warrior. Having thus secured the unity of the kingdom, he made it the chief aim of his life to extend the Maratha power into Hindustan. It was during his rule that Gujarat and Malwa were conquered, the former by the Gaikwar, the latter by Holkar and Sindia. Baji Rao himself marched towards Dehli. By this time the Moghul Emperor had become so feeble that he had to call to his assistance Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had set himself up as an independent ruler in the Deccan. The latter was given the fullest powers in order to drive the Marathas from Malwa and Gujarat.

[1] Pope, 179-180.

Then followed a long and desultory war between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Baji Rao I, the results of which were on the whole favourable to the Marathas. For, in 1738, Baji Rao I succeeded in surrounding Nizam-ul-Mulk's army near Bhopal, and compelling him to sign the Convention of Seronje, by which the Marathas obtained the complete sovereignty of the whole of Malwa and of all the territories between the Chambal and the Narbada.[1] Furthermore, the Emperor promised to ratify this treaty, and to pay a subsidy of fifty lakhs to cover the expenses of the Peshwa. Baji Rao I also fought with the Portuguese, and in 1739 took by storm the fortress of Bassein, a place which became memorable in later Maratha history.

The Greatest Peshwa. Baji Rao I may rightly be looked upon as the greatest Peshwa. It is true that his father was also a great warrior and a statesman of considerable ability, but with him the case stands the same as with Babar. Both Babar and Balaji Vishwanath were conquerors rather than organisers. Again, under the rule of Balaji Baji Rao, Baji Rao's successor, the Maratha power was at its zenith, but also passed through the darkest hour of its history. We may therefore conclude that Baji Rao I is the greatest Peshwa, because he was both a great administrator and a great conqueror. Owing to his wise policy he preserved the unity of the Maratha kingdom, and it was during his rule that the Maratha Confederacy was most like an united empire, and was therefore strongest.

SUMMARY

I. The Statesman

He kept the rising Royal Families separated, and weaker than himself.

[1] Pope, 181.

II. The Warrior

1. Conquest of Gujarat and Malwa.
2. Defeated Nizam-ul-Mulk who fought for the Moghul Emperor.
3. By the Convention of Seronje obtained Malwa and the territories between the Chambal and the Narbada.
4. Captured Bassein from the Portuguese.

N.B.—He was the greatest Peshwa.

No. 3.—BALAJI BAJI RAO, THE VANQUISHED VICTOR, 1740-1761

Plan

1. Fullness of Strength.
2. Extremity of Weakness.

I. FULLNESS OF STRENGTH

During the first twenty years of Balaji Baji Rao's rule the Maratha power was at its zenith. There was a healthy rivalry between the various Maratha leaders to extend their territories at the expense of neighbouring states.

Thus the Bhonsle family of Berar overran Orissa, and carried its predatory inroads as far as the Ganges. Such was the dread of the people of Calcutta that they began to dig the famous Maratha Ditch, along the site now occupied by the Circular Road.[1] Holkar of Indore displayed the same military activity in Bundelkhand. Raghoba, the brother of the Peshwa, who was destined to play such an important part during the First Maratha War, invaded the Punjab and, triumphantly entered Lahore, 1758. The Peshwa himself invaded Mysore and the Carnatic.

All these various conquests were crowned by the victory of Udgir, 1760. The Peshwa had obtained

[1] Wheeler, 101.

possession of Ahmadnagar, which Salabat Jang and Nizam Ali, the sons of Nizam-ul-Mulk, were bent on wresting from him. But they were defeated at Udgir and were compelled to hand over to the Marathas the forts of Daulatabad, Asirgarh and Bijapur, and to renounce every claim to Ahmadnagar and to the greater part of the province of Aurangabad.[1]

The result was that in 1760 the Maratha Confederacy extended from the Chambal and the Jumna to the Godaveri, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and the Marathas were in a position to levy chauth over the whole of India from the Indus to the southern frontier of Mysore.[2]

II. EXTREMITY OF WEAKNESS

After the Marathas had thus become the rulers of India, they were with unforeseen suddenness reduced to unparalleled helplessness. Their downfall was brought about by the disastrous defeat which they sustained at Panipat, 1761.

1. **Causes of the Battle.** In 1757 Ahmad Shah Abdali of Persia invaded India, and on his return home, appointed his son Viceroy of the Punjab. The following year Raghoba with inconsiderate rashness invaded this province, and entered Lahore in triumph. Raghoba's success, however, was destined to involve his countrymen in ruin, for Ahmad Shah Abdali, anxious to recover his lost possessions, crossed the Indus in order to measure his strength with the Marathas.

2. **The Opposing Armies.** The Marathas were commanded by the Peshwa's son, Vishwas Rao, with Sadashiva Bhao, commonly called the Bhao, as his adviser. The latter had already distinguished himself

[1] Pope, 187. [2] Elphinstone, quoted by Smith, *O.H.I.*, 460.

at Udgir and was thus practically in full command of the army, which numbered close upon 300,000 fighting men.[1] To oppose this immense host Abdali had called upon, and organised all the forces of Islam, so that the conflict was in reality a national and religious struggle for supremacy.

3. **Preliminary Skirmishes.** Holkar and Sindia were the first to bear the brunt of Abdali's attack. As they were retreating along the banks of the Jumna, they were overtaken by the invaders, and lost two-thirds of their force near Delhi.[2] Shortly afterwards Holkar's troops met with another reverse at Sikandra.[3] These were, however, only partial losses, and it was at Panipat that the great and decisive battle was fought on January 13, 1761.

4. **The Battle.** During the first half of that memorable day the Marathas had decidedly the advantage. They advanced in an oblique line, with their left wing thrown forward, and their formidable artillery well in advance.[4] Abdali formed a similar line.

The guns of the Marathas opened upon the advancing line of the enemy, and wrought havoc in their ranks. This enabled the Marathas to inflict terrible punishment on the right wing and on the centre of the Afghans, but the left wing of Abdali's forces stood firm and unshaken in spite of repeated Maratha attacks. Up to the hour of noon the advantage still rested with the Marathas.

Then Abdali determined to make a gigantic effort to ward off defeat. With two bodies of cavalry he charged the Maratha centre, while two other bodies of cavalry, held in reserve, fell upon the Maratha flanks.

Under the sudden stress of this unexpected movement

[1] Keene, *Sindhia*, 41.
[2] Pope, 189.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Keene, *Sindhia*, 41.

the Maratha centre staggered, and finally gave way, and in an incredibly short time victory was turned into defeat. The Marathas fled in panic-stricken confusion, and in every direction they were pursued by the victorious Afghan horsemen. Nearly all the Hindu leaders died on the battlefield, and, according to Grant Duff, the number of Hindus who fell in the plains around Panipat amounted to 200,000. The greatness of the slaughter may be easily gathered from the message that was sent to the Peshwa : " Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven golden mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." [1]

For the Peshwa himself, the defeat of Panipat was little short of a death-warrant, and soon afterwards the broken-hearted Balaji Baji Rao breathed his last at Poona, June 1761.

5. Causes of the Maratha Defeat. The following were the causes of the disaster that overtook the Maratha armies.

They had set out for the battle in a fashion hitherto unknown to the sturdy mountaineers. Holkar and other tried Maratha leaders had strongly pleaded that the camp and the multitude of camp followers should be left behind and that the fight should be carried on according to the traditional Maratha tactics of laying waste the country, cutting off convoys, and harassing the enemy till he was exhausted.[2] But the Bhao overruled their suggestions. The result was that during the long preliminary period of skirmishes lasting more than two months, the Marathas were faced with the serious problem of provisioning their immense camp ; and on the fatal thirteenth of January the soldiers had

[1] Pope, 190. [2] Keene, *Sindhia*, 39.

actually eaten their last rations when they issued forth from their lines.[1]

Moreover the Maratha infantry gave but a poor account of their fighting capabilities. They had never fought a pitched battle, and lacked the necessary patience and restraint. Indeed the absence of these qualities was most remarkable in the Bhao himself who fought a pitched battle on the principles of guerrilla warfare, time after time hurling his troops against the line of the enemy. The result was that his soldiers were exhausted and discouraged when Abdali gave orders for the combined encircling attack of cavalry.

6. **Results.** The battle of Panipat sapped the very foundations of the Maratha Confederacy, and put an end to whatever aspirations to supremacy the Marathas may have cherished. At the same time the Maratha defeat was a godsend to the English. For, whilst the Persians and the Marathas were engaged in deadly conflict on the plains of Panipat, Clive was laying the foundation of British Power in Bengal. Had the Marathas been victorious, they would probably have taken sides with Mir Kassim, the Nawab of Bengal, when the latter joined issue with the English in 1763; and the result of such a combination would in all probability have been fatal to the still slender and struggling power of the British Company.

SUMMARY

I. Fullness of Strength

1. The various royal families made large conquests.

2. The Maratha Confederacy extended from the Chambal and the Jumna to the Godaveri, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

3. The Marathas levied chauth over the whole of India from the Indus to the southern frontier of Mysore.

[1] Grant Duff, i. 614-618.

II. Failure

The disastrous battle of Panipat brought about the complete ruin of the Maratha Confederacy.

A. Causes of the Battle : (1) Ahmad Shah Abdali occupied the Punjab. (2) Raghoba occupied Lahore and expelled the Persian Viceroy.

B. The Battle : (1) During the first part of the battle the Marathas were victorious. (2) Persian cavalry attacks upon the Maratha centre and flanks routed their forces.

C. Results : (1) Many Maratha leaders and 200,000 fighting men were killed. (2) End of Maratha dreams of supremacy. (3) The defeat of the Marathas was the salvation of the British.

D. Causes of Defeat : (1) They gave up their traditional tactics of guerrilla warfare. (2) The Marathas were badly provisioned. (3) They had no experience of pitched battles. (4) They fought a pitched battle on the principles of guerrilla warfare. (5) The Marathas were exhausted when Ahmad Shah attacked.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a brief sketch of Balaji Baji Rao's rule. (Summary.)

2. What causes brought about the battle of Panipat ? (II, 1.)

3. Describe the battle of Panipat. (II, 4.)

4. How do you account for the defeat of the Marathas on the battlefield of Panipat ? (II, 5.)

5. Give an idea of the extent of the Maratha Confederacy during the administration of each of the first three Peshwas.

6. Give the various steps by which the Maratha Confederacy was set up, 1646-1761.

No. 4.—MADHO RAO I, THE BLACK PRINCE 1761-1772

Plan

1. Recovery of Maratha Prestige.
2. Great Peshwa.

I. RECOVERY OF MARATHA PRESTIGE

1. Recovery of Maratha Prestige in Mysore. Haidar Ali profited by the Maratha defeat at Panipat to gain possession of large tracts of Maratha territory,

whereupon the young Peshwa led an army across the Kistna, defeated him, compelled him to restore to the Marathas the territories he had occupied, and forced him to pay thirty-two lakhs of rupees, 1764.

But Haidar Ali was more ready to make promises than to keep them. Madho Rao therefore invaded the Carnatic to enforce the payment of the indemnity, which Haidar Ali had made bold to withhold. Shortly after the opening of the campaign the Peshwa was compelled by sickness to return to Poona. But his general, Trimback Rao Mama, defeated Haidar at Cherkuli, 1771, and besieged Seringapatam.[1] Though he failed to capture the fortress, yet, in the peace treaty which brought an end to the war, the Sultan of Mysore had to agree to all the demands made by the Marathas.

2. Recovery of the Maratha Prestige in Hindustan. It was also during Madho Rao's rule that the Marathas once more crossed the Chambal, and ventured to show themselves in Hindustan.[2] They overran the Rajput States, invaded the districts occupied by the Jats, and levied the customary national tribute, 1769.

Two years later, in 1771, a Maratha army led by Sindia overran Rohilkhand, and in the same year Mahadaji Sindia began a series of transactions with the Moghul Emperor which put the latter completely in the power of the Marathas, and, for a time at least, made them the masters of what remained of the Moghul Empire.

II. A GREAT PESHWA

Since Madho Rao I succeeded to the throne at a most critical period, and was largely instrumental in restoring the lost prestige of his countrymen, there is little doubt

[1] Pope, 195-196. [2] *Ibid.* 196.

that he fully deserves to be reckoned as one of the great Peshwas. Furthermore, had life been granted to him, he might have succeeded in re-establishing the Maratha supremacy in Hindustan. But for his untimely death, brought about by the constant inroads of a relentless disease, he would have gained for himself in history the title of the Greatest Peshwa. His short but brilliant career fully warrants his being called "The Black Prince of Maharashtra."

SUMMARY

1. Haidar Ali was twice defeated.

2. Haidar Ali restored Maratha territories, and paid a war indemnity.

3. Marathas crossed the Chambal, and levied chauth from Rajputs and Jats.

N.B.—A Great Peshwa.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief sketch of the career of Madho Rao I. (I.)

2. Would you consider Madho Rao the Greatest Peshwa? State your reasons. (II.)

No. 5.—NARAYAN RAO, THE ONE-YEAR PESHWA 1772-1773

After Madho Rao's death, his brother Narayan Rao succeeded to the Peshwaship, but was murdered within a year of his accession.

No. 6.—MADHO RAO II, THE WARD OF NANA FARNAVIS, 1773-1795

Plan

1. The First Maratha War.
2. Wars with Tippu Sultan and Nizam Ali.
3. Great Maratha Leaders.

I. FIRST MARATHA WAR, 1772-1782

1. Causes. After the murder of Narayan Rao, there were two rival claimants to the Peshwaship, one of whom, Raghoba, proclaimed himself Peshwa, and practically ruled as such during the two years which followed, 1773-1775. But Raghoba's claim was disputed by Nana Farnavis acting in the capacity of Regent for the posthumous son of Narayan Rao. The result was that civil war broke out between the parties of Raghoba and the Regent. The Bombay Government, still unaware that by the Regulating Act a new and supreme Government had been installed at Calcutta, and profiting by the civil disturbances among the Marathas, made with Raghoba the treaty of Surat, by which the latter ceded Salsette and Bassein in return for British military support.

2. Leading Events. The Bombay military contingent took the field against the troops of the Regent, and won the battle of Arras. Meanwhile the Calcutta Government had come to know of the proceedings of the Bombay Government, strongly disapproved of them and made with the Regent the treaty of Purandhar, by which Nana Farnavis ceded Salsette in return for British military support. Matters became still more confused when despatches from the Directors of the Company approved the treaty of Surat.[1]

The Bombay Government, emboldened by this approval, continued to support Raghoba; but the Bombay forces met with disaster, and the Bombay Government had to sign the disgraceful Convention of Wargaon, by which they promised to give up all acquisitions of Maratha territory, to surrender Raghoba

[1] Pope, 201.

to the Regent, and to give British hostages as a pledge that the conditions of the treaty should be faithfully carried out.

When the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, heard of the Convention of Wargaon, he observed that the document "almost made me sink with shame when I read it." [1] Accordingly he equipped a military force and sent it under Goddard's skilled leadership from Calcutta right across India to fight against the Marathas. In the conflict which followed, the latter were defeated.

3. **Results.** Hostilities were put an end to by the treaty of Salbai. According to its terms Madho Rao II was acknowledged Peshwa, and Salsette was ceded to the English; Raghoba's claim was set aside, but he was granted an annual pension of Rs. 300,000, 1782.

SUMMARY

I. Causes

1. Rival contest for the succession between Raghoba and Nana Farnavis.

2. Bombay made with Raghoba the treaty of Surat (Salsette and Bassein).

3. Calcutta made with Nana Farnavis the treaty of Purandhar (Salsette).

II. Leading Events

1. The Bombay contingent won the battle of Arras.

2. It was defeated by Nana Farnavis, and had to sign the Convention of Wargaon (surrender of territories and of Raghoba, British hostages).

3. Warren Hastings sent Goddard against Nana Farnavis who was defeated.

III. Treaty of Salbai

1. Madho Rao Peshwa.
2. Raghoba pensioned.
3. Salsette ceded to the British.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 533.

II. WARS WITH TIPPU SULTAN AND NIZAM ALI

During the reign of Madho Rao II the Marathas successfully fought with Tippu Sultan of Mysore; for the latter was compelled to cede to them a part of his State, and to pay forty-five lakhs. The Marathas were equally successful in their war against Nizam Ali, for the consummate statecraft of Nana Farnavis gathered once more all the Maratha chiefs under the banner of the Peshwa. The Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, and all the other leaders shared in the victory of Kardha, 1795. Nizam Ali was utterly defeated, had to make extensive territorial concessions, paid a large indemnity, and for all practical purposes was reduced to a state of vassalage, whilst the Maratha power was once more raised to the highest pinnacle of glory.

Shortly afterwards, Madho Rao II, impatient of the guardianship of Nana Farnavis, and at the same time enraged at his own helplessness in the hands of such a powerful man, committed suicide, 1795.

III. GREAT MARATHA LEADERS

1. Mahadaji Sindia. He was the son of Ranoji Sindia, who from humble beginnings—he was the Peshwa's slipper-bearer—ultimately became the founder of a royal house. Mahadaji was present at Panipat, and was one of the few Maratha chiefs who escaped from the battlefield. During the period of Maratha recovery, whilst Madho Rao I was Peshwa, Mahadaji became one of the leading Maratha generals. He overran Rohilkhand, occupied Delhi, placed the Emperor Shah Alam II on the imperial throne, and was all-powerful in Delhi. During the reign of Madho Rao II his influence steadily increased, for it was at

Salbai, a village of that name in Sindia's territory, that the treaty was signed, which put an end to the First Maratha War. On that occasion Mahadaji acted in the capacity of plenipotentiary of the Peshwa. His growing influence enabled him to extend his power, and it is said that Warren Hastings' indifference to Mahadaji's aggrandisement is best accounted for by the fact that the Governor-General could not afford to risk a quarrel with the Maratha chief. Mahadaji died in 1794.

2. Raghoba. He was the second son of Baji Rao I. In his eagerness to win military fame, and with inconsiderate rashness, he overran the Punjab and captured Lahore. But his personal triumph was destined to cost his countrymen dear; for the invasion of the Punjab brought about the disastrous battle of Panipat.

After the murder of Narayan Rao he proclaimed himself Peshwa.[1] In order to defeat his rival claimant, Nana Farnavis, who acted as Regent for Madho Rao II, he made with the Bombay Government the treaty of Surat, by which he ceded Salsette and Bassein in order to secure British military support. After the defeat of the British contingent at Wargaon, his former allies promised to surrender him to his enemy, Nana Farnavis; but he relieved the Bombay Government from the disgrace of betraying him, by taking refuge with Mahadaji Sindia.

Finally, at the close of the First Maratha War, he had to renounce all claims to the Peshwaship. He was, however, allowed to retire into private life and by way of consolation was granted a yearly pension of three lakhs of Rupees.

3. Nana Farnavis. After the murder of Narayan Rao, Nana Farnavis, acting as Regent for Madho Rao II,

[1] Pope, 197.

practically claimed the Peshwaship for himself. This step brought him into conflict with Raghoba who had also proclaimed himself Peshwa. In the conflict which ensued Nana Farnavis made the treaty of Purandhar with the Calcutta Government, and thus secured for himself British military support. Next he defeated the Bombay contingent, and compelled the Bombay Government to sign the Convention of Wargaon which was all to his advantage. But the Convention of Wargaon turned the Calcutta Government from allies into enemies, by whom he was ultimately defeated. Nevertheless, by the treaty of Salbai, Raghoba's pretensions were ignored, whilst Madho Rao was acknowledged Peshwa.

This was a great triumph for Nana Farnavis ; for he kept the Peshwa under such galling tutelage that he himself was practically the ruler of the country. His overbearing manner finally exasperated the young and helpless Peshwa to such an extent that the latter committed suicide. With the death of Madho Rao II, Nana Farnavis's power came to an end. For Madho Rao's successor was Baji Rao II, the son of Raghoba, and as such, a hereditary foe of the great Maratha minister. The latter was forthwith arrested and imprisoned. Afterwards a reconciliation was effected, and Nana Farnavis became once more chief minister ; but he was powerless to cope with the dissensions that had spread all over the kingdom during his confinement in prison, and he died in 1800.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of the chief events that occurred during the rule of Madho Rao II. (1, II.)

2. Give the causes, leading events, and results of the first Maratha War. (II.)

3. Write short biographical notes on Mahadaji Sindia, Raghoba, and Nana Farnavis. (III.)

No. 2.—BAJI RAO II, THE DESTROYER
1795-1818

Plan

1. The Treaty of Bassein.
2. The Second Maratha War.
3. The Third Maratha War.
4. The Fourth Maratha War.
5. Decline of Maratha Power.

I. TREATY OF BASSEIN, 1802

1. Causes of the Treaty of Bassein. The Chief cause was the hatred of Baji Rao II, the son of Raghoba, against Nana Farnavis. As soon as Baji Rao II succeeded to the Peshwaship, he caused Nana Farnavis to be arrested and imprisoned. Such was the confusion which followed, that Baji Rao II was perforce compelled to effect a reconciliation with his prisoner, and asked him to accept once more the office of chief minister.[1]

But after his release Nana Farnavis was powerless to cope with internal troubles which had spread like wildfire all over the kingdom, while he had been confined in prison. War broke out between Jaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindia. The Peshwa threw in his lot with Sindia, and, when the latter was defeated by Holkar, who succeeded in capturing Poona, Baji Rao II fled to Bassein, put himself into the hands of the English, and signed the Treaty of Bassein, 31st December, 1802.

2. The Treaty of Bassein. The Peshwa consented to a subsidiary force being permanently stationed in his territory, and paid for its upkeep. He also bound

[1] Pope, 214.

himself to exclude from his territories Europeans of all nations hostile to England, and to abstain from hostilities or negotiations with other States unless in consultation with, and with the approval of the British, whom he had to acknowledge as overlords.

3. **Results of the Treaty of Bassein.** The first result was Baji Rao's restoration to the Peshwaship. But the Peshwa's personal gain was his countrymen's national loss. By signing the treaty of Bassein, the Peshwa, in the words of Vincent Smith, "sacrificed his independence as the price of protection."[1] Furthermore, as the other Maratha chiefs were opposed to a treaty to which they had not been party, there followed a long period of fighting between the Marathas and the English. The Second, the Third, and the Fourth Maratha Wars were all the result of the Treaty of Bassein.

SUMMARY

I. Occasion

1. Enmity between Baji Rao II (Raghoba's son) and Nana Farnavis led to the latter's retirement.
2. Nana Farnavis's retirement was followed by a civil war.
3. The Peshwa joined Sindia; thereupon Holkar seized Poona.
4. The Peshwa went over to the English.

II. Terms

1. British force subsidised by the Peshwa.
2. Exclusion of all foreigners from the service.
3. Abstention from warfare and alliances with other States.
4. British acknowledged as overlords.

II. THE SECOND MARATHA WAR, 1803

After the Peshwa had signed the Treaty of Bassein, Lord Wellesley expected that the other Maratha chiefs would need but little persuasion to follow suit.[2] But

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 598. [2] *Ibid.* 599.

he was too sanguine in hoping that the British would, without striking a blow, establish the supremacy of British Rule in India. A fierce combat ensued, and the Second Maratha War was the first phase of the great struggle for supremacy between the Marathas and the English.

1. **Causes of the Second Maratha War.** The treaty signed by Baji Rao II was naturally viewed with displeasure by the other Maratha chiefs. Accordingly, Bhonsle and Sindia determined to settle the question by measuring their strength with the English.

2. **Leading Events.** The war was fought partly in the Deccan and partly in Hindustan. Arthur Wellesley conducted military operations in the Deccan. He occupied Ahmadnagar and, in order to concentrate his forces upon the enemy, he seized the mountain pass which connected the Nizam's dominions with the Maratha territory of Khandesh. He then took the offensive, and defeated the combined armies of Bhonsle and Sindia on the battlefield of Assaye. After the battle of Assaye there was a temporary suspension of hostilities with Sindia; and Wellesley took advantage of it by winning a decisive victory over Bhonsle at Argaon. Next he stormed the strong fortress of Gawilgarh on 15th December, and two days later the Deccan campaign came to an end by the treaty of Deogaon, which was but a second edition of the treaty of Bassein, and by which Bhonsle lost his independence, just as the Peshwa had done.

General Lake was entrusted with the campaign in Hindustan which was specially directed against Sindia. He captured Aligarh, Delhi, and Agra, and defeated Sindia's troops in two battles, one near Delhi and the other at Laswari, famous for the defeat of the Deccan

Invincibles. Then Sindia was, in his turn, compelled to sign the treaty of Arjungaon, which was but a third edition of the treaty of Bassein, and reduced him to a state of vassalage similar to that of the Peshwa and Bhonsle, 30th December, 1803.

SUMMARY

I. Causes

Bhonsle and Sindia opposed the treaty of Bassein.

II. Leading Events

1. Arthur Wellesley in the Deccan: seized Ahmadnagar, occupied the Ajanta Pass by which help might come from Khandesh, and defeated Bhonsle and Sindia at Assaye.

2. During a truce with Sindia, Wellesley defeated Bhonsle at Argaon and captured Gawilgarh. Treaty of Deogaon with Bhonsle.

3. General Lake in Hindustan: seized Aligarh, Delhi, and Agra. Defeated Sindia near Delhi and at Laswari. Treaty of Arjungaon with Sindia.

III. Conclusion

Treaties of Deogaon and Arjungaon were but repetitions of that of Bassein.

III. THE THIRD MARATHA WAR, 1804-1805

The second phase in the conflict for supremacy between the Marathas and the English was the war with Holkar which began in 1804, and which is sometimes treated as a continuation of the Second Maratha War.

1. Causes. Jaswant Rao Holkar had kept aloof during the Second Maratha War; he had retired to Malwa, and continued to levy the national tribute of chauth in the Rajputana States, which had placed themselves under British protection precisely to guard themselves against such exactions. Accordingly Lord Wellesley entered into correspondence with him and set

forth various proposals. Holkar, however, far from agreeing to these, preferred to make extravagant demands upon the governor. Peaceful negotiations broke down, and war ensued.

2. Leading Events. In spite of the brilliant plan of campaign devised by Arthur Wellesley, Holkar was at first successful. According to this plan. Wellesley himself was to advance from the Deccan, Murray from Gujarat, while Lake was to operate in Hindustan. But the last two commanders miserably failed, three battalions of Lake's army under Monson being practically wiped out in the Muckundra Pass.

This initial success secured for Holkar the aid and alliance of the Raja of Bhurtpore, and together with his new ally, Holkar marched upon Delhi. His failure to capture it, however, proved to be the turning-point in the war; for shortly afterwards Holkar's forces were defeated at Farakabad and Deeg by General Lake.

Following up this success, Lake marched upon Bhurtpore, but after four successive attempts failed to storm the impregnable fortress, his losses amounting to over three thousand men. Fortunately the English were spared the trouble of capturing it because the Raja grew tired of the war, and made peace with the English, 1805.

Holkar was thus left alone to face his opponents, and would undoubtedly have shared the same fate as the other three Maratha chiefs, had not Lord Wellesley been suddenly recalled to England. Wellesley's successors inaugurated the non-intervention policy; and, though Holkar was hard pressed by General Lake, Sir George Barlow was anxious to make peace with him. He was given back power and provinces and continued to exercise the right to levy chauth in Rajputana.

SUMMARY

I. Causes

1. Holkar opposed the treaty of Bassein.

2. He attacked the Rajputana States under British protection.

II. Leading Events

1. Wellesley was to advance from the Deccan, Murray from Gujarat, Lake was to operate in Hindustan.

2. Murray failed, and three battalions of Lake's force were wiped out in the Muckundra Pass.

3. Holkar aided by Bhurtpore failed to capture Delhi, and was defeated at Deeg and Farakabad.

4. Bhurtpore joined the English. The recall of Lord Wellesley saved Holkar.

IV. FOURTH MARATHA WAR, 1817-1818

The Fourth Maratha War was the last phase in the struggle for supremacy between the Marathas and the English.

Causes. The real cause of the Fourth Maratha War was the change of policy, by which the Company gave up the non-intervention policy and once more decided upon forcing the subsidiary system upon India. The apparent cause, or rather the occasion, was the murder of the Gaikwar's minister by Trimbakji Dainglia, a protégé of Baji Rao II. The English, under whose protection the Gaikwar was, demanded that the murderer should be handed over to them. This request was complied with, but Trimbakji managed to escape from his jailors, and the Peshwa was accused of helping him with money and men.

1. **Leading Events.** The Peshwa called upon the Maratha chiefs to join him in a final effort to rid themselves of the treaty of Bassein. He himself collected an army, but, before he was joined by the other Maratha

leaders, he was defeated first at Kirkee, then at Ashti, and finally at Koregaon. The other Maratha leaders, who had lent a willing ear to the Peshwa's invitation, were now dealt with in succession by the English. Appa Sahib Bhonsle, who had usurped the throne by murdering the youthful Raja whose guardian he was, was defeated in the battle of Nagpur. Holkar was likewise defeated in the battle of Mahidpur. Sindia, whatever his original intentions may have been, was overawed by the defeat of the other Maratha chiefs and the near approach of Lord Hastings' army. He remained quiet.

2. Result. A final settlement was then made, which was the fourth and last edition of the treaty of Bassein. The Peshwa was deposed, and his territories were annexed by the Company. A descendant of the Bhonsle family was installed at Nagpur, and pledged himself to acknowledge the British Government as overlord. Holkar and Sindia made the same promise. The Maratha Confederacy had therefore ceased to exist; there were no longer any independent Maratha princes.

SUMMARY

I. Causes

1. Combined efforts of Marathas to rid themselves of the treaty of Bassein.
2. The murder of the Gaikwar's minister by Trimbakji with the alleged connivance of the Peshwa.

II. Leading Events

1. British forestalled common attack.
2. Peshwa defeated at Kirkee, Ashti and Koregaon.
3. Appa Sahib Bhonsle defeated at Nagpur.
4. Holkar defeated at Mahidpur.
5. Sindia remained quiet.

III. Results

1. Peshwa deposed.
2. The usurper Appa Sahib was replaced by a descendant of the Bhonsle family.
3. Holkar and Sindia made their submission.
4. End of Maratha independence.

V. CAUSES OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MARATHAS

The following were the causes of the downfall and ruin of the kingdom founded by Shivaji. First of all the successors of Shivaji were worthless rulers, and were soon supplanted by the Peshwas. Under the rule of the Peshwas the Marathas, no doubt, became very powerful in India, but their kingdom contained within itself the seeds of decay and ruin. As the Peshwa had supplanted the royal family of Shivaji, so the various Maratha chiefs tried to supplant the Peshwa, and one another as well. The result was that the Maratha kingdom was a confederacy of many states poorly united together. This inherent weakness in the Maratha kingdom grew still greater when the Marathas were defeated at Panipat, for they never recovered from this formidable disaster. Next there arose quarrels and rivalries between Raghoba and Nana Farnavis, which led to the First Maratha War, and brought the Marathas into contact with the English. Later on fresh quarrels and dissensions arose between the Peshwa, Sindia and Holkar, and when the latter was victorious, the Peshwa betook himself to the English and signed the disastrous treaty of Bassein. The treaty of Bassein was the proximate cause of the downfall of the Marathas.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the treaty of Bassein, briefly indicating the circumstances that led to it, its chief clauses, and its disastrous results. (I.)

2. Show that the treaty of Bassein was the turning point in the history of the Marathas. (I, 3 ; II-IV.)

3. Write notes on each of the last three Maratha Wars. (II-IV.)

4. Write a note on Jaswant Rao Holkar. (III.)

5. What were the causes of the decline and fall of the Maratha Confederacy ? (V.)

CHAPTER III

THE DECCAN AND RAJPUTANA

No. 1.—THE DECCAN

I. THE DECCAN, THE VICTIM OF MOGHUL AGGRESSIONS

Akbar was the first Moghul Emperor who invaded the Deccan. He annexed Khandesh, a great part of Berar, the fort of Ahmadnagar, and its surrounding districts, 1601. But the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, though conquered, was in a state of permanent unrest, of which Malik Ambar took advantage by attempting to set up an independent kingdom, and to expel the Moghul invaders.

Jahangir. Accordingly Jahangir's son was put in command of the Imperial army, and defeated Malik Ambar.

Shah Jahan. After Shah Jahan had ascended the throne, Khan Jahan Lodi rebelled, and was in turn defeated. Next Aurangzeb, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was entrusted with the task of consolidating the position, subjugated Golkonda, and besieged Bijapur, 1656.

Aurangzeb. Finally, during the reign of Aurangzeb, the conquest was completed. Bijapur and Golkonda and all the territory south of the Kistna, which had been dependent on these two kingdoms, became a part of the Moghul Empire, whilst even the Polygars, who dwelt in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula, paid tribute to the Moghuls, 1700.

II. THE DECCAN, THE GRAVE OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE

Even while the conquest of the Deccan was being completed by Aurangzeb, indications were not wanting to show that the conquerors were slowly being conquered. Aurangzeb's narrow-minded religious policy made it possible for Shivaji to become the leader of a great national and religious movement against Moghul oppression. The Maratha cause was further strengthened by the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda. Moreover, owing to the characteristic Maratha way of fighting and their predilection for guerrilla warfare, Aurangzeb's victories were more apparent than real; for he was only victorious when he had the whole Moghul army behind him, and on such occasions there were no enemies with whom he could measure his strength. The final result was that towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign a new Hindu kingdom arose which was constantly growing stronger and stronger. Thus Aurangzeb's policy resulted in the downfall of the Empire, although the ruin did not come till after his death.

III. THE DECCAN, THE CRADLE OF NEW AND INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS

With the break-down of the Moghul Empire, several new and independent kingdoms sprang up in the Deccan. The most important of them all was the Maratha kingdom founded by Shivaji. Another great and independent State was founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk in Hyderabad during the second decade of the eighteenth century. To the south of the Nizam's dominions a third independent kingdom arose from the ruins of the

Moghul Empire. This was Mysore which asserted its independence shortly after Aurangzeb's death; for the latter had indeed invaded and conquered it, though here, as elsewhere, his conquest lacked stability.

No. 2.—RAJPUTANA

I. THE CONQUEST OF RAJPUTANA

Babar. After Babar had won the battle of Panipat, he turned southwards in order to conquer Hindu India, or Rajputana. On this occasion the Rana of Chitor, Rana Sanga, came forward as the leader of the Hindu Confederacy. He succeeded in rallying under his banner the flower of Rajput chivalry, and, at the head of a formidable host, marched upon Agra. He was, however, defeated at Khanua (battle of Sikri, 1527). Sikri was the last great struggle of the Rajputs for Empire, and when this defeat was shortly afterwards followed by the capture of Chanderi, 1528, the independence of Rajputana was hopelessly lost; for the successor of the valiant Rana Sanga made his submission to the Moghul Conqueror, 1529.

Humayun. Babar died shortly afterwards, 1530, and ten years later Humayun, defeated by Sher Shah, lost the Empire which his father had won for him. After Humayun's downfall, Rajputana regained its independence. Though Sher Shah made vigorous efforts to subdue the country, he met with only partial success.

Akbar. But during the reign of Humayun's successor, Rajputana was once more conquered by the Moghuls. During the reign of Babar, the Rana of Chitor was the leader of the Hindu Confederacy, but during the reign of Akbar, Rana Udai Singh proved himself singularly lacking in that spirit of chivalry which had ever been

the characteristic of the Rajput Princes. For, when Akbar marched upon Chitor, the craven Udai Singh fled from the city. In spite of his desertion Chitor was heroically defended by Jaimall, and fell only after a siege of four months. The fall of Chitor sealed the fate of Rajputana ; for, though there were certain clans that, rather than make their submission, retreated into the mountain fastnesses, yet most of the Rajput Rajas acknowledged Akbar as their ruler, and Rajputana became a province of the Moghul Empire.

Jahangir. The clans of Mewar never wavered in their opposition to the Moghul invaders, and the inglorious contest, which the Moghuls waged with Udaipur went on without interruption till at last during Jahangir's reign it was brought to a successful issue by Shah Jahan. The latter harassed the brave clans of Mewar till they were reduced to the last extremity, and finally in 1614 Rana Amar Singh tendered his submission to the Moghul Emperor.

II. RAJPUTANA, THE ALLY OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE

Akbar, far from oppressing the Rajputs, made friends with them, and consolidated the ties of friendship by matrimonial alliances between Hindu and Muhammadan families. He inaugurated the unprecedented policy of acknowledging the connections of the Hindu bride as members of the royal family. He also entrusted the Rajput Princes with responsible posts, and was equally anxious to further the material welfare of the common people by introducing salutary reforms and by protecting them against oppression. The result was that the Rajputs served him with wonderful loyalty.

III. THE ALIENATION OF RAJPUT CHIVALRY

Aurangzeb's narrow-minded policy turned the Rajputs into implacable foes. He put a stop to Akbar's practice of strengthening the bonds of friendship by marriage alliances between Hindu and Muhammadan families. The Rajputs were next deprived of every office in military and civil service, and were once more subjected to the hateful capitation tax, the odious Jizya. Furthermore, Aurangzeb endeavoured to kidnap the posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur) with the probable intention of doing away with them, as he had done away with their father. This dastardly attempt was frustrated, and the clans of Udaipur and Jodhpur readily promised to protect the young princes. This was the beginning of the Rajput War, 1679, which brought about the irretrievable loss of the support of the Rajputs and the hopeless alienation of Rajput chivalry. This latter loss was an overwhelming disaster to the Moghul Empire.

BOOK V

THE BRITISH PERIOD

CHAPTER I

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLERS

Plan

1. The Portuguese in India.
2. The Dutch in India.
3. The Early French in India.
4. The First English Settlers.

No. 1.—THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

Plan

1. Trading Policy.
2. Policy of Territorial Acquisition.
3. Downfall of the Portuguese Power.
4. Present Portuguese Possessions.

I. TRADING POLICY, 1498-1508

1. Vasco da Gama. Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498. Though his intentions were entirely peaceful he was not allowed peacefully to carry them out. He was looked upon as a dangerous rival by the Arab merchants who held the monopoly of trade with India, and who accordingly convinced the Zamorin, the Hindu Raja who ruled over Calicut, to have nothing to do with the Western adventurers, whom they represented

as pirates bent on depredatory designs. The result was that, after some desultory fighting, Vasco da Gama was obliged to return to Portugal without having been able to establish a warehouse or factory at Calicut.[1]

2. Alvarez Cabral. Alvarez Cabral led another Portuguese expedition to India, and landed at Calicut in September 1500. He found himself in the same predicament as his predecessor. The Arab traders once more made the establishment of commercial relations an impossibility. Accordingly he opposed them, but had ultimately to withdraw from Calicut, after succeeding, however, in establishing factories at Cochin and Cannanore.[2]

The Portuguese next tried to make good the loss of national prestige which followed the double rebuff they had met with at Calicut. Two expeditions were sent out for that purpose, the one led by Vasco da Gama and the other by Alphonso Albuquerque. But these attempts did not prove successful; and the two commanders had to return to Portugal without having in any way distinguished themselves.[3]

3. Francisco Almeida. Francisco Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy, was sent out to India in 1505. He laid the first foundation of Portuguese Power in India by defeating the rival Arab merchants. He was first worsted in a naval engagement off Chaul, 30 miles south of Bombay, but made good his failure by defeating the combined fleets of the Moors off Diu. Thus he made Portuguese influence supreme by establishing Portuguese naval supremacy in the Indian seas, 1508.

[1] [2] [3] Pope, 246, 247, 248.

II. POLICY OF TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION

Alphonso Albuquerque. In 1508 Francisco Almeida was superseded by Alphonso Albuquerque, who was the founder of Portugal's Colonial Empire in the East. He was not slow to realise that Portuguese influence would never be widespread or lasting as long as his countrymen had only factories. Accordingly he set to work to establish a Colonial Empire by the military occupation of territories and by the seizure and building of harbour-towns.

It was this policy inaugurated by Albuquerque which the Portuguese constantly pursued during the whole of the sixteenth century. Its wisdom was made plain by the splendid results which followed in its wake. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese possessions extended over more than 12,000 miles of coast-line,[1] either under effective Portuguese control, or within the Portuguese sphere of influence. Over this immense area they had about thirty factories in the most favourable positions.[2] There were also a number of garrisoned forts to deal with interior insurrections and with exterior aggressions. But their real strength lay in their maritime control over all the Eastern seas. They patrolled all the important sea-routes, compelled the traders of other nations to buy their passports, and jealously kept for themselves the immense harvest of the wealth of the East.

It was the genius of Albuquerque which laid the foundation of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, though most of the conquests were made after his death. In 1515 Albuquerque was dismissed from office, and he felt

[1] Joppen, Map 19. [2] Pope, 253.

the blow so keenly that he died broken-hearted in the same year.

III. DOWNFALL OF THE PORTUGUESE POWER

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese were supreme in India and at the zenith of their glory. But with the opening of the seventeenth century their colonial empire began rapidly to decline. The following were the causes of the downfall of Portuguese power in India: the chief cause of their ruin was inherent in their empire. It was a colonial empire without a *hinterland*. The interior of the countries of which they held the coast-line remained practically independent. The result was that, on the occasion of an interior insurrection or of an exterior aggression, even a temporary defeat was doomed to end in disaster, because of the impossibility of retreating. A successful interior insurrection simply swept them off the coast into the sea; a successful exterior aggression meant capitulation or the extermination of the settlers.

Another important factor that largely contributed to the collapse of their colonial empire was Portugal's absorption by Spain. The Spaniards had such a vast colonial empire in America that Portugal's colonial empire came naturally to be looked upon as but of secondary importance. Moreover, Portuguese power rested solely on their supremacy at sea; and when this supremacy passed into Dutch hands, their Indian empire collapsed. It must also be added that among the successors of Albuquerque there were but few who attained to his genius and integrity, while many of them were both corrupt and incapable.

Besides this, it has been said, but with little regard to truth, that the Portuguese lost their empire owing to

their cruelty in their dealings with the Indians. There were, of course, cruel men among the Portuguese settlers, but it was not the policy of the Portuguese systematically to oppress the people. Thus, for example, Albuquerque encouraged intermarriages between his officers and respectable Indian families, and this policy was persistently pursued all through the sixteenth century; for the Portuguese never looked down upon the Indians, practically ignoring what is euphemistically called the colour bar.

Finally it does not seem exact to say that the downfall of the Portuguese was the result of their religious policy. There may of course have been instances of religious persecution, but as a rule, the Portuguese never thrust Christianity down the throats of the people, nor insisted, at the point of the sword, upon its remaining there. Thus for example Christians alone were allowed to live within the precincts of the forts; they were exempt from taxes, eligible to Government service, and were exclusively granted the privilege of entering into marriage alliances with Portuguese officers. But, though moral persuasion was freely used, there was no organised policy of religious persecution.

IV. PRESENT PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

The present possessions of Portugal in India are Goa, Damaun and Diu, with a population of about 500,000.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace the growth of Portuguese power in India. Why did the Portuguese fail to establish themselves permanently in the country? (I, III.)

2. What causes led to the decline of Portuguese power in India? (III.)

No. 2.—THE DUTCH IN INDIA

The Dutch were the first among European nations to break through the Portuguese monopoly. They were a seafaring nation, and, after they had successfully rebelled against Spain, they became the carriers of the world, and made the East Indies their special trading field. This brought them into conflict first with the Portuguese and afterwards with the English. Against the Portuguese the Dutch were successful ; for they put an end to Portuguese naval supremacy, and wrested from them their most flourishing colonies. Thus their power became supreme in the Malay Archipelago,[1] whilst they established several trading centres in India. In their conflict with the English the Dutch were defeated after a long and bloody fight, and at present the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India.

The chief cause of their downfall was that they carried their monopoly policy to excess. Like the Portuguese they were bent on keeping for themselves all the wealth of the Eastern trade, and this naturally roused the jealousy of England. This exclusiveness as regards the monopoly of trade can best be described as a grasp-all lose-all policy. Furthermore, English resentment ran fever-high when at Amboyna, in the Malay Archipelago, nine Englishmen, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese sailor were accused of trying to capture a Dutch fort. The Dutch tortured their prisoners, found them guilty, and executed them. This became known in history as the Amboyna massacre, and served only to increase English animosity against the Dutch, who were ultimately defeated by their English rivals.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 337.

No. 3.—THE EARLY FRENCH IN INDIA
1604-1740

First French Settlements. The first French settlements in India call but for a few passing remarks. The French came to India because they wanted to have a share in the harvest which other European nations were reaping there. Accordingly, they formed a trading company, and began their commercial enterprise, as the other Western settlers had done, by establishing factories and warehouses at various places on the Indian mainland. They established factories at Surat, Masulipatam, Chandernagore and Mahé. Their most important possession was Pondicherry, which they built in 1674 on a piece of land bought from the Bijapur Government.

No. 4.—THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLERS
1600-1740

Plan

1. The East India Company.
2. The United East India Company.

I. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1600-1702

1. **Origin.** One of the first Englishmen to visit India was Thomas Stevens, of New College, Oxford, a member of the Society of Jesus. The letters which the Jesuit missionary wrote to his father are said to have done much to rouse a great desire to trade with the East.[1] He was followed by other travellers: Storey, Newberry, Leedes and Fitch;[2] and their accounts increased the eagerness of Englishmen, upon whom the example of

[1] Pope, 261. [2] *Ibid.*

the Portuguese and the Dutch had not been lost. Furthermore, a fresh impulse to maritime enterprise naturally followed after the defeat of the Armada ; so that the English made up their mind to get a share in the wealth which the merchants of other nations were laying up.

But their first efforts were hampered by the rigorous monopoly policy pursued by the Dutch. Thus, for example, in 1599 the Dutch almost doubled the price of pepper. Thereupon the London merchants held a meeting, and agreed to form an association for the purpose of trading directly with India. In 1600 the association was incorporated by Elizabeth, and thus was the East India Company founded.

2. **Activities.** The East India Company followed at first the policy of their Portuguese and Dutch rivals. They established factories, notably at Surat, Calicut and Masulipatam. Little by little they succeeded in extending the field of their commercial operations ; and, whilst Shah Jahan ruled over the Moghul Empire, they obtained from him the privilege of trading in Bengal. The Coromandel Coast was also a theatre of their activities, which they looked upon as the most convenient and most flourishing of all their trading centres.

In the course of the seventeenth century they built three important forts, where English subjects could reside with safety, should they ever be threatened by future enemies. These forts were Fort St. George at Madras, Fort William at Calcutta, and Fort St. David, sixteen miles south of Pondicherry. Moreover, Madras and Bombay assumed great importance, and came to be known as Presidencies. They were so called because they were fully equipped factory-towns under the supervision of a President. Each Presidency was a unit

in itself, a complete commercial establishment. It consisted of the President, merchants or traders, factors or inspectors of goods, writers or book-keepers, and soldiers, sepoys, and peons.[1]

3. End. But in the course of years private individuals began to trade with the Indian mainland. As it was unlawful for them to do so, they were called interlopers. Furthermore, a rival Company sprang up ; and the struggle for success among the various competitors was disadvantageous to all alike. Accordingly in 1702 the two rival companies were amalgamated, and assumed the name of the United East India Company.

II. THE UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1702-1740

The United East India Company continued to follow the same policy as its predecessor. It continued to extend its activities, and in 1715 Calcutta became a separate Presidency. Thus the English were daily growing stronger ; and the time was now approaching when their strength would have to stand the test of a fierce and long struggle known as the rival wars for supremacy between the French and the English.

[1] Pope, 265.

CHAPTER II

FRENCH AND ENGLISH RIVALRY, 1740-1761

Plan

1. General Causes of Rival Wars.
2. The First Carnatic War.
3. The Second Carnatic War.
4. The Third Carnatic War.
5. English Success and French Failure.
6. Clive and Dupleix.
7. Prominent Frenchmen.
8. Final French Collapse.

I. GENERAL CAUSES OF THE RIVAL WARS

THE causes that brought about the long strife between the French and the English in India, may be summed up in one word—" rivalry." Both the French and the English were bent on building a colonial empire in the Indian mainland, but in spite of its immense size, India could not contain them both. For the sailors of both nations had to cross the same seas, and to sail for the same harbours ; and the settlers of the two nations had to land at the same places. It was therefore impossible to divide India into two colonial empires separated from each other by a neutral zone. Either one of the two nations had to give up its policy of territorial acquisition, or the two nations had to be ready for a long and bloody struggle, which could only be brought to an end by the complete victory of the one and the irretrievable downfall of the other.

As early as 1698 the English had resolved that the policy to be pursued was that independence should be established in India, and that dominion should be acquired.[1] In pursuance of this policy the Company was authorised by Queen Anne's charter in 1702 to raise troops for the defence of its settlements.[2] With the equipment of an army for defensive purposes the Company actively entered upon its policy of acquiring territories and independent dominion; for, when trouble should arise, it would practically be impossible to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation between offensive and defensive warfare.

Nor was the policy pursued by the French different from that of the English. Dupleix made a gallant and memorable effort to establish and build up a French colonial empire in India. He was appointed Governor-General of the French possessions in India in 1741; and, as soon as he had entered upon his high office, he made up his mind to expel the English from India, and secure French supremacy by taking advantage of the dissensions between Indian rulers.[3]

In order to become the determining power in the rivalries between Indian princes, he needed an army; and as the handful of French soldiers at his disposal was totally inadequate for the purpose he intended, Dupleix started drilling the Indians, for he was fully persuaded that Indian sepoys, drilled after the European system and led by capable European officers, would be as efficient as European troops.[4] The French policy of territorial acquisition was, therefore, still more pronounced and more provocative than that of their opponents and rivals.

[1] Sinclair, 126.
[2] Hunter, 444.
[3] Pope, 265.
[4] Sinclair, 129.

II. THE FIRST CARNATIC WAR, 1746-1749

1. Causes. Events occurred in Europe that caused the two nations to be ranged on opposite sides in the great continental conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession ; and, when war broke out between England and France in Europe, it also started between the two rival nations in India. The War of the Austrian Succession was, therefore, the occasion of the First Carnatic War. The real cause of the First Carnatic War was the rivalry between the French and the English in India.

2. Leading Events. From the very beginning of the war the advantage was with the French. The English fleet failed to take advantage of the absence of the French fleet, and actually sailed for Bengal.[1] After it had gone La Bourdonnais arrived with the French fleet, and captured Madras, 1746. He, however, promised to restore Fort St. George to the English in three months, on their paying a moderate ransom. But before the capitulation treaty was signed, La Bourdonnais exacted a personal gratuity of 100,000 pagodas, of which 88,000 were actually paid over in cash, bullion, and jewels. This shows that the French Captain was not above accepting a bribe.[2]

Dupleix, however, refused to acknowledge the treaty, and occupied Madras to the annoyance of Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, who resented this disposal of Madras which the French made without his consent. Accordingly he collected a large force and marched against them, but was defeated by the French commander Paradis at St. Thome close to Madras.

Next Dupleix attacked Fort St. David, but failed to

[1] Pope, 277. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 472.

capture it. The English then besieged Pondicherry, but were obliged to raise the siege. Hostilities came suddenly to an end with the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, at the close of the War of the Austrian Succession.

3. **Result.** By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored to the English, so that the fighting in India did not result in any territorial changes, but it served the purpose of enhancing Dupleix's reputation in the eyes of the Indian princes.

III. SECOND CARNATIC WAR, 1751-1755

1. **Causes.** Dupleix, not a little elated by the success he had won during the First Carnatic War, boldly determined on carrying out his policy of interference in the dissensions of rival Indian princes.[1] Moreover, the confusion and disorder, which were at that time prevailing in the Carnatic and in the Nizam's Dominions, singularly favoured his designs. In both states the succession to the throne was being disputed by rival claimants. In the Carnatic, Anwar-ud-din was opposed by Chanda Sahib; in the Deccan, Nasir Jang was fighting with Muzaffar Jang. Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang applied to Dupleix—who now called himself Nawab Dupleix—for help, which the latter was only too pleased to promise and give.

The united armies of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang reinforced by a French contingent, and led by capable French officers such as Bussy, attacked Anwar-ud-din, defeated his army, and captured his capital, Arcot. Anwar-ud-din was among the slain; his son Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly, and Chanda Sahib was made Nawab of the Carnatic.

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 71-74.

The three allies then went to Hyderabad, and Dupleix was again completely successful. Nasir Jang was killed, Muzaffar Jang was proclaimed Nizam, and, as the latter was shortly afterwards murdered by one of his own Nawabs, he was replaced by Salabat Jang who placed himself likewise under French protection.

So far the French decidedly had had the best of it, for Dupleix was recognised by his allies as the titular sovereign of Southern India from the Kistna to Cape Comorin. The success obtained by the French was the cause of the Second Carnatic War, for the English were determined to support Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din, against Chanda Sahib.

2. Leading Events. Muhammad Ali had taken refuge in the fort of Trichinopoly, which was being besieged by Chanda Sahib, and which the English were anxious to relieve, though they fully realised that the inadequacy of their means forbade them to attempt the task.[1] But while the English were still meditating upon the best course to adopt, Robert Clive, who was but a civilian, and who had entered the service of the Company in the humble capacity of a clerk, unexpectedly revealed himself as a great military leader.

With the eagle glance of an experienced strategist he saw the wonderful opportunity offered to his countrymen by Chanda Sahib's foolhardy ambition. The latter had left his capital, Arcot, almost denuded of troops, in order to make the capture of Trichinopoly doubly sure. Accordingly Clive, at the head of a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, made a dash for Arcot, and captured it. But what redounded so much to Clive's military glory was not the capture of Arcot, but its

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 474

heroic defence. Events turned out exactly as Clive had anticipated. For, as soon as Chanda Sahib learned that his capital was in the hands of his enemies, he detached a large force from the besieging army, and entrusted his son, Raja Sahib, with its leadership and with the task of recapturing Arcot. For 53 days the relieving army battered in vain the improvised fortifications which Clive had hurriedly erected. At last Raja Sahib had to acknowledge defeat and withdraw his forces, 1751.

Not satisfied with having compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Arcot, Clive started in pursuit of the retreating army, and defeated Raja Sahib at Arni and Kaveripak. Then he joined his commander-in-chief, Major Lawrence, and the combined forces of the English marched upon Trichinopoly. The news of their approach brought home to Chanda Sahib the blunder he had made, for he was obliged to retreat to the island of Srirangam. There he was in turn besieged by the English and their allies, and finally surrendered to the Raja of Tanjore, on the promise that his life should be spared. The promise, however, was basely broken, for Chanda Sahib was treacherously murdered.

Dupleix, however, did not give up the struggle, and, in spite of further defeats suffered by the French at Bahur, Covelong and Chengalpat, he was able once more to lay siege to Trichinopoly. Thus the fight continued to drag on; the English gained incontestable advantages, but time after time Dupleix made good the French losses.[1] That he did in no wise consider himself beaten is made plain by the demands which he made when peace negotiations were at last opened. Then he boldly claimed the right to be acknowledged Nawab of

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 124-127, 153-157.

the Carnatic, and made this preliminary condition the necessary basis of a possible agreement.[1]

As the English would not consent to this, and as they at the same time perceived that Dupleix would never change his mind, they addressed themselves directly to the French Government, and succeeded in persuading the French authorities to disapprove of Dupleix's policy and to have him recalled.[2] As soon as Dupleix was recalled, the English in India succeeded in obtaining by the treaty of Pondicherry all that they had been fighting for.

3. Results. By the treaty of Pondicherry, 1755, the conquered territories were restored. Moreover, the two belligerents promised not to interfere in the affairs of the Indian princes. Finally, the French gave up every claim to the Nawabi of the Carnatic, and recognised Muhammad Ali, the ally and friend of the English, as Nawab. In a word, the dreams of the French to found a colonial empire were entirely upset; French power was on the decline, whilst British prestige was being steadily strengthened.

IV. THIRD CARNATIC WAR, 1758-1761

1. Causes. Count De Lally, the Governor-General of the French possessions in India, was anxious to retrieve the French losses. But at the same time the English were equally anxious once and for all to bring the contest with France to an end. This was the real cause of the Third Carnatic War which began at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756. France and England once more fought on opposite sides, and faced each other on the battlefields of Europe, Canada and India.

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 121-127, 153-157. [2] *Ibid.*

2. Leading Events. Count De Lally, in his eagerness to make good the loss of French prestige, invested and captured Fort St. David. This success led the French Governor-General to believe that he could win a decisive victory over the English by striking a strong and sudden blow. Accordingly, he ordered General Bussy to leave the Northern Circars, and to join him with all his available forces. But the result was the reverse of what De Lally had anticipated. After Bussy and his troops had joined the main French force, the French found themselves weaker than they had been before. For as soon as the Northern Circars had been evacuated by the French, the Raja of Vizianagram rebelled.

The English were not slow to grasp the significance of this momentous and opportune event. They hastened to the Raja's assistance,[1] and before the French had time to strike a blow against the English, they lost the Northern Circars. The loss of the Northern Circars sealed the fate of French power in India; for, after the expulsion of the French from the Northern Circars, Salabat Jang transferred his allegiance to the English, and from that period dates the reciprocal amity between the Nizam and the English.

Meanwhile De Lally, having captured Arcot, was besieging Madras. He was compelled, however, to raise the siege by the opportune arrival of the English fleet and by the complete exhaustion of all his resources, 1759. The English forces under the command of Colonel Coote now started operations against the French, and succeeded in capturing Wandiwash. De Lally forthwith endeavoured to recover the place, but in January 1760 he was defeated by Colonel Coote. The English victory at Wandiwash was both complete and decisive,

[1] Malleson, *Clive*, 121.

it dissipated all the hopes of De Lally, and sealed the fate of Pondicherry.[1] Arcot, Devicota and Karikal were captured by the English, and Pondicherry was besieged and taken in January 1761.

The defeat which the French suffered in India was but an insignificant part of the total collapse which they suffered during the Seven Years' War. Far worse was their failure in Canada, and worst of all their discomfiture in Europe.

Results. The result was that by the treaty of Paris, which put an end to the Seven Years' War, all French ambitions of building a colonial empire in India were brought to nought. Their prestige had passed away, and their influence was for ever lost. It is true that a few places were restored to them, and that Pondicherry was also handed back; but it was a Pondicherry deprived of all its former glory, shorn of her fortifications, and doomed to witness in the helplessness of despair the steady aggrandisement of her victorious rival.[2]

SUMMARY

First Carnatic War

Causes

1. Rivalry and clashing interests were the cause.
2. The War of the Austrian Succession was the occasion.

Events

1. La Bourdonnais captured Fort St. George.
2. Dupleix occupied Madras, and defeated Anwar-ud-din.

Results

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle: (i) Restoration of territories. (ii) Ascendency of French power.

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 175. [2] *Ibid*. 176.

Second Carnatic War

Causes

1. The causes were: Rivalry brought about by clashing interests.

2. Dupleix's policy of interference.

3. Dupleix's alliance with Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang.

4. The defeat and death of Anwar-ud-din and of Nasir Jang.

5. Chanda Sahib became Nawab and Salabat Jang, Nizam under French protection.

6. Trichinopoly was besieged by Chanda Sahib.

Events

1. Clive captured, and defended Arcot; he defeated the retreating Raja Sahib at Arni and at Kaveripak.

2. Lawrence and Clive relieved Trichinopoly.

3. Chanda Sahib was besieged in Srirangam, surrendered, and was murdered.

4. The French were defeated at Bahur, Covelong, and Chengalpat.

5. The French Government recalled Dupleix.

Results

Peace of Pondicherry: (i) Restoration of territories. (ii) Non-interference with Indian princes. (iii) The Carnatic and Hyderabad under English protection. (iv) Ascendency of English power. (v) Decline of French influence.

Third Carnatic War

Causes

1. Rivalry and clashing interests were the causes.

2. The Seven Years' War was the occasion.

Events

1. De Lally captured Fort St. David, and recalled Bussy from the Deccan.

2. The Raja of Vizianagram rebelled, and aided by the English expelled the French; the Northern Circars were lost. Salabat Jang joined the English, who defeated the French at Wandiwash. Simultaneous defeats of French armies in India, Canada and Europe.

Results

Peace of Paris: (i) Pondicherry and a few other places restored. (ii) End of French influence in India.

V. CAUSES OF ENGLISH SUCCESS AND OF FRENCH FAILURE

First of all, the success of the English does not appear to have been due to superior leadership on the part of the officers commanding the rival forces. Lawrence, Clive and Coote were, no doubt, clever military leaders; but no one will ever say that Dupleix, Paradis, and Bussy were incapable men.

The ruin of the French was the result of the lack of co-operation between the French Government and the French colonists on the one hand, and among the French settlers themselves on the other; whilst the triumph of the English was brought about by the close co-operation between the Directors of the Company and the English colonists on the one hand, and among the English settlers themselves on the other. The French officers in command of the French possessions in India were often at the mercy of courtiers who stood in high favour at the French court, and whose selfish aims were a constant cause of interference greatly handicapping the men in India in the carrying out of their plans.

Furthermore, the French Government was apparently incapable of sustaining a temporary defeat, and in the face of misfortune the rulers of France, instead of helping the men whom they trusted with the highest offices, often miserably failed to come to their assistance. Moreover, the way in which the French officers were treated on their return home did not encourage their successors to run the slightest risk for the sake of their country. Dupleix returned to France in disgrace, and

De Lally was actually tried and executed. Nor must it be forgotten that among the French officers in India there was at times a strange lack of union ; for in their selfishness they often failed to help one another, and seemed at times anxious to take advantage of a fellow-officer's distress. On the contrary, Englishmen in India could always rely on the strongest support from home, while in India itself they always presented an united front to their rivals. When they returned home, they were, on the whole, well treated by their countrymen.

We may therefore conclude that unity of purpose and dogged tenacity on the part of the English, and lack of unity and fickleness of purpose on the part of the French, ultimately ended in the triumph of the former over the latter.

VI. CLIVE AND DUPLEIX

They were both able men, as is best shown by the wonderful success they achieved. Dupleix was the first Frenchman to conceive a practical scheme to found a French colonial empire in India. By his policy of interference in the affairs of rival Indian princes he succeeded in making French influence supreme in Southern India. The Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad were under French protection, and Dupleix himself was acknowledged titular sovereign of Southern India from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin. Clive did for England what Dupleix was endeavouring to carry out for the benefit of France. The capture and defence of Arcot, the victories of Arni and Kaveripak, and the relief of Trichinopoly, go a long way to bear out the truth of the historical praise bestowed on England's great soldier, that he was " a heaven-born general and a man who, bred to the labour

of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of Frederick the Great of Prussia."

Clive's success was no doubt due to his great military genius, but the whole-hearted support, which he received from his countrymen both in India and in England, was also an important factor not to be lost sight of. Dupleix on the contrary was practically left in the lurch by his own people. When, on the opening of peace negotiations towards the end of the Second Carnatic War, Dupleix would not yield to the demands of the English, the latter, by means of skilful diplomacy, persuaded the French Government to recall the man who had laid the foundation of the French colonial empire in India. With his dismissal the whole fabric which he had so patiently erected rapidly crumbled to pieces.

When Clive returned home, he was feasted by his countrymen, while Dupleix returned to France in disgrace. The real cause of the latter's failure is revealed to us by the poignant words which he wrote shortly before he breathed his last: "I have sacrificed my youth, my fortune, my life, to enrich my nation in Asia. I am in the most deplorable indigence. The little that remained to me has been seized. I am compelled to ask that time should be delayed in order not to be dragged into prison." [1]

VII. PROMINENT FRENCHMEN

1. Dupleix. Dupleix was the greatest Governor-General of the French possessions in India. He made it the aim of his life to establish a French colonial empire in India. He therefore determined to expel the English

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 164.

and in order to be able to do so he forthwith started drilling Indian sepoys. At the same time he made it part of his policy to interfere in the dissensions of rival Indian princes, and by judicious intervention to win them over to his cause.

His plans materialised beyond all expectation. During the First Carnatic War he made good use of the Indian sepoys, and with their help occupied Madras, and defeated Anwar-ud-din. His policy of interference in the dissensions of Indian princes was equally successful. His alliance with Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang made French influence paramount in the Nizami of Hyderabad and in the Nawabi of the Carnatic, whilst Dupleix was acknowledged by his allies as the titular sovereign of Southern India from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin.

The coming of Clive and the great victories which he won were no doubt a severe blow to Dupleix ; yet the latter never gave up the fight, and time after time succeeded in making good the French losses. Dupleix was never defeated, as is evidenced by his bold claim to be acknowledged by the English as Nawab of the Carnatic, when peace negotiations opened after the Second Carnatic War. Then the English succeeded in getting rid of him by persuading the French Government to recall him to France. Dupleix returned home in disgrace, and it was this same lack of support on the part of his countrymen which was, more than anything else, the cause of his failure.

2. De Lally. De Lally was appointed Governor-General of the French possessions in India shortly after the Seven Years' War had broken out in Europe. He was eager to retrieve the French losses in India, and began by laying siege to and capturing Fort St. David ;

but with the view of inflicting a decisive blow upon the English, he then made the mistake of recalling Bussy from the Northern Circars, which resulted in the loss of those provinces. After the loss of the Northern Circars other Indian princes transferred their allegiance from the French to the English, so that De Lally was unable to cope with the ever-growing forces of his opponents, and was defeated at Wandiwash. On his return to France he was imprisoned, tried, condemned to death, and finally executed.

3. **Bussy.** Bussy was the most able military commander of the French during the Carnatic Wars. His capture of the Fort of Jinji was one of the most splendid performances ever witnessed in India. He was chiefly responsible for the victories which the French and their allies, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, obtained over Anwar-ud-din and Nasir Jang. It was due to him that Salabat Jang secured the Nizami, and that the Northern Circars were ceded to the French. After the outbreak of the Third Carnatic War he was ordered to leave the Northern Circars, and his departure was followed by the rebellion and loss of these provinces. Shortly afterwards the French met with disaster everywhere, and Bussy himself was defeated, and made prisoner at Wandiwash. After his release he returned to France, came once more back to India, but died shortly afterwards.

VIII. FINAL FRENCH COLLAPSE

The history of the French possessions in India subsequent to the battle of Wandiwash, 1760, calls but for a few passing remarks. During the War of American Independence, 1775-1782, the recognition of the United States by France brought that country into conflict

with England. The result was that in India Frenchmen and Englishmen were once more fighting with each other. Had the French co-operated with Haidar Ali they might have succeeded in retrieving their losses.[1] But they failed to do so, and were defeated. This defeat was the final collapse of French Power in India.

At present the principal French possessions in India are Mahé, Yanaon, Pondicherry, Karikal and Chandernagore.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the general causes of the rivalry wars between the English and the French ? (I.)

2. Give the causes, leading events, and results of each of the three Carnatic Wars. (II-IV, Summary.)

3. What were the causes of the success of the English and of the failure of the French ? (V.)

4. Compare and contrast Clive and Dupleix. (VI).

5. Write a short biographical note on Dupleix, De Lally, and Bussy. (VII.)

6. Briefly trace the history of the French in India after the battle of Wandiwash. (VIII.)

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 177-180.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH RULE
1756-1818

No. 1.—IN BENGAL, 1756-1767

Plan

1. The First War with Siraj-ud-daulah.
2. The Second War with Siraj-ud-daulah.
3. Clive's First Administration of Bengal.
4. Bengal during Clive's absence.
5. Clive's Second Administration of Bengal.
6. Clive.

I. THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH PRESTIGE IN BENGAL

The First War with Siraj-ud-daulah, 1756-1757

1. Causes. Whilst the English and the French were at war in the south of India, the Governor of Calcutta, fearing that the French at Chandernagore would attack the English settlement, determined to repair the old fortifications of Fort William. Siraj-ud-daulah, however, the then ruling Nawab, resented these defensive measures and regarded the repair of the fort as an open act of hostility. He accordingly informed the English Governor that the new fortifications should be forthwith demolished. When this request was not complied with, he marched upon Calcutta, and captured the town and

its fort on 19th June, 1756. The English were, of course, anxious to retrieve their losses, and Clive with an army of 900 Englishmen and 1,500 sepoys was ordered to Calcutta, sailed from Madras, and reached the Hugli in the month of December 1756.

2. Leading Events. Clive once more revealed himself as a great military leader. Budge Budge was taken, and, before three weeks had elapsed, Calcutta was re-occupied, 2nd January, 1757. The capture of Calcutta was followed by that of Hugli, which was stormed and taken with irresistible impetuosity.

3. Results. The English were granted the right to fortify Fort William; all property that had been seized by the Nawab was to be restored; and compensation was to be paid for other damages. Besides this, the Nawab consented to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance with the English.

II. THE FIRST STEP IN THE FORMATION OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY

The Second War with Siraj-ud-daulah, 1757

1. Causes. Though Clive had made peace with Siraj-ud-daulah, he was far from trusting his new ally; he therefore found it expedient to believe that Siraj-ud-daulah was endeavouring to win over the French to his side. He was not slow to act, and began, with charac-

teristic promptitude, by seizing Chandernagore. Next he opened negotiations with Mir Jafar, the commander-in-chief of the Nawab's army, who was anxious to secure the Nawabi for himself. When the conspirators had almost come to an agreement, a wily merchant of Calcutta, Amirchand, whom the parties had used as an agent, threatened to reveal the plot to Siraj-ud-daulah, unless a gratification of twenty lakhs of rupees was promised him, and unless the promise was inserted in the treaty to be drawn up between Mir Jafar and the English. Clive therefore deceived Amirchand by having two copies of the treaty drawn up ; and the sham treaty which contained the merchant's name was shown to the latter. Amirchand was thus lulled into a belief of false security, kept silence, and allowed the conspirators to carry out their plot.

2. Leading Events. When the conspirators had fully agreed among themselves, Clive started military operations, and marched upon Kasimbazar, whilst Siraj-ud-daulah at the head of an army of 70,000 troops moved towards Plassey. Though the majority of his council was opposed to facing such overwhelming odds, Clive determined to fight, and fortune once more smiled on him ; for, whilst the issue of the battle was still hanging by a thread, Mir Madan, the general in command of the Nawab's forces, was mortally wounded. The death of this general made such an impression on Siraj-ud-daulah, that he forthwith fled from the battlefield. Thus was won the battle of Plassey, 1757.

Results. The day after the victory of Plassey Clive proclaimed Mir Jafar Nawab of Bengal. By way of reward for the help they had given him, Mir Jafar paid large sums of money to the English to compensate them, as it was said, for the losses which they had sustained

during Siraj-ud-daulah's rule. Moreover, he granted to the Company the rights of a Zemindar or landlord over a large tract of land to the south of Calcutta, known as the Twenty-four Parganas. *This was the first step in the formation of the Bengal Presidency.* As the yearly rent, paid by the Company, was presented by Mir Jafar to Clive as a personal reward for his services, Clive was at the same time a servant of the Company and the landlord of his masters. Finally the fleeing Siraj-ud-daulah was taken prisoner and put to death.

III. CLIVE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL, 1757-1760

During his first administration of Bengal Clive prepared the way for the foundation of British sovereignty not only in Bengal but also in Southern India.

He first of all prepared the way for the foundation of British sovereignty in Bengal. After he had won the battle of Plassey, Clive installed Mir Jafar Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thus Clive became the real ruler of the Native State, for only the semblance of power was left to Mir Jafar. He further succeeded in making the new Nawab entirely dependent on the English, by lending him military assistance against threatening rivals or insubordinate vassals. Thus Clive relieved Patna which had been invested by the forces of the Great Moghul, and defeated the Raja of Purnia who was in rebellion. Next he inflicted a crushing and decisive defeat on the Dutch at Chinsura, and thus rivetted the chains on Mir Jafar, who had been intriguing with the Dutch to get rid of British control.

Clive also prepared the way for the foundation of British sovereignty in Southern India, by helping his countrymen to triumph over the French. Soon after he

had won the battle of Plassey, news reached him that in the south of India the French Governor-General, De Lally, was making a supreme effort to restore French prestige. After Bussy had been recalled by De Lally, the Raja of Vizianagram wrote to Clive for help.[1] Though the latter had but a comparatively small army at his disposal, he did not hesitate to despatch Colonel Forde to Vizagapatam in order to reinforce the Raja's troops. Clive's broad-minded and unselfish policy resulted in the French loss of the Northern Circars, a hard blow to French prestige. This was followed by the defection of other allies, and finally by the defeat of the French at Wandiwash. Thus Clive had deserved well of his country both in Bengal and in Madras ; he was but thirty years old but had already won undying fame. In 1760 he sailed for England.

IV. BENGAL DURING CLIVE'S ABSENCE, 1760-1765

1. **Evil Effects of Clive's First Administration.** Many of the servants of the Company had received their share of the vast sums of money paid first by Siraj-ud-daulah, and afterwards by Mir Jafar. The result was that those who shared in the booty were anxious further to increase their wealth, whilst others, who had been less fortunate, set to work to improve their prospects by trading on their own account. Thus it came about that the servants of the Company, in their eagerness to amass vast fortunes in the shortest possible time, had recourse to means which deserve full condemnation. For to such an extent was corruption practised that Sir John Malcolm wrote : "There is no page in our Indian history so revolting as the weak and inefficient rule of Clive's successor, Mr. Vansittart."[2]

[1] Malleson, *Clive*, 121. [2] Trotter, 26.

2. Deposition of Mir Jafar and Appointment of Mir Kasim. Mir Jafar was not a capable ruler. He led an extravagant life, and squandered the money of the State on his own pleasures. Accordingly, the people were in a very bad plight, crushed as they were under the weight of taxation, and harassed by all kinds of arbitrary extortions. To make matters still worse, the soldiers were in vain clamouring for the arrears of their pay, so that Mir Jafar was as unpopular as Siraj-ud-daulah had been. Moreover, the English no longer cared for him, because his resources were completely exhausted, and because they could no longer enrich themselves at his cost.[1] Accordingly they anxiously sought a successor.

Their choice fell upon Mir Kasim who had been sent by Mir Jafar to Calcutta in order to discuss with the Governor and his Council the payment of the debts which he owed to the English.

The result was that Mir Kasim came as ambassador, and returned home as Nawab, while Mir Jafar was forced to resign, and to take up his abode at Calcutta. Mir Kasim had of course to pay for the title and honours which were thus unexpectedly bestowed on him. To the English he ceded Midnapur, Chittagong and Burdwan ; *the cession of which constituted the second step in the formation of the Bengal Presidency*, 1760.

3. War with Mir Kasim, 1761-1765. But shortly after the English had appointed Mir Kasim Nawab, they were fighting against him.

(*a*) *Causes of the War.* Mir Kasim displayed considerable ability and, had a chance been given him, there is every probability that he would have solved the financial problems with which he was struggling. But

[1] Keene, i. 172.

the opportunity of doing so was denied him. The servants of the Company first of all claimed considerable sums of money as personal presents. Next they asserted that they had the right of trading in country-produce without paying any dues. They also sold permits of trading to Indian merchants. The youngest writer in the Company's service could make 2,000 rupees a month by selling passes.[1] The result was that Mir Kasim was defrauded of his chief source of income, and that all his efforts to improve the financial condition of the country were practically rendered useless.

In despair, Mir Kasim determined to put himself beyond the pale of English control, and removed his capital to Monghyr, which was situated much higher up the Ganges. He then abolished all transit dues throughout his dominions. Thus he put an end to the traffic in trading permits, by which the servants of the Company were substantially increasing their salaries. Then war broke out.

(*b*) *Leading Events.* The English seized Patna ; but Mir Kasim recaptured the town, and retaliated by ordering the arrest of all the Englishmen in his dominions. The Calcutta Government then issued a proclamation dethroning Mir Kasim and reappointing as Nawab Mir Jafar, who was now an old man of seventy-two and a leper. An army was sent against Mir Kasim, and the latter was defeated in three successive encounters at Gheria, Udwanulla and Monghyr.[2] In order to ward off the final blow, that would end in his downfall, Mir Kasim threatened to kill his English prisoners if the English army should venture to continue its advance. The English army did advance ; and Mir Kasim carried out his threat, and gave orders to the

[1] Trotter, 28. [2] Sinclair, 155.

notorious Samru for the execution of the Englishmen whom he held in prison. 150 prisoners—soldiers, civilians and women—perished in the cruel massacre of Patna, 1763.

The English army, eager to avenge the cruel death of their countrymen advanced upon Patna, and captured the town. Mir Kasim then took refuge at the court of Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, where he met the Emperor, Shah Allam II, who happened also to be a fugitive at the same court. The three Indian princes made an alliance, and determined to combine their forces, in the hope that by thus concentrating all their available strength they might be able to put a check to the rising power of the English in Bengal. But all their hopes were doomed to end in failure. The opposing armies met at Buxar, where Major Munro utterly defeated the armies of the allied Indian princes, 1764. The English followed up their success, and in the following year they completely defeated Shuja-ud-daulah at Kora, 1765.

(c) *Results.* The victories of Buxar and Kora were productive of the most important results which will be dealt with under the heading : Clive's second administration of Bengal.

V. CLIVE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL, 1765-1767

1. Clive's Return. The Directors of the Company were amazed as they beheld the large fortunes with which their servants were returning home. Accordingly they asked Lord Clive to assume the Governorship of Bengal to put an end to the general confusion and almost wholesale corruption.

2. Important Events. Clive's second administration

of Bengal is chiefly remarkable for the treaty of Allahabad, 1765, and for his administrative reforms.

(*a*) *Treaty of Allahabad.* Clive landed in India on the day of the battle of Kora, which for ever broke the power of the Nawab of Oudh, and reaped the fruits of the English victories at Buxar and Kora, when he made the treaty of Allahabad. Of the three who had fought against the English, Shuja-ud-daulah and the Emperor Shah Allam II were, for political reasons, treated by Clive with the greatest leniency, whilst Mir Kasim, who had fled, was allowed to live and die in obscurity. First of all Clive obtained from Shah Allam II a promise that the servants of the Company should be acknowledged by him as his feudatories ; thus Englishmen from mere traders became lawful possessors and legitimate rulers. Shah Allam II bestowed upon the English a feudatory state ; he granted them the Diwani of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. The Diwani was in theory the right of collecting the revenue in these provinces ; but in reality it amounted to virtual sovereignty ; *and the granting of the Diwani has always been looked upon as the third and final step in the foundation of the Bengal Presidency.*

The Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daulah, was allowed to remain in possession of his throne under English protection.

(*b*) *Administrative Reforms.* The administrative reforms introduced by Clive were first concerned with the servants of the Company. He issued orders forbidding the servants of the Company to trade on their own account or to accept presents, and, in order to secure a ready compliance with these orders, he did not hesitate to increase their salaries.

He next suppressed the special allowance which the English troops had begun to claim as a right whenever

they were on active service. This special allowance was called double batta, and had risen so high that a captain was able, when on field-duty, to increase his monthly salary by 1,000 rupees. Though the suppression of the double batta led to what practically amounted to a mutiny among the officers, Clive was firm, and within a fortnight quelled the rebellion, and punished the ringleaders.

But the most important of Clive's administrative reforms was the introduction of the Dual System, or Double Government, which was one of the main features of the Allahabad treaty. When he obtained the Diwani, Clive stipulated that the English should be allowed military occupation of the new provinces; but he left the administration of justice and the collection of revenue in the hands of the officers of the Nawab. The country was therefore under the military rule of the English, but was governed financially and judicially by the Nawab. Hence the system received the name of Dual System, or Double Government.

After he had carried out these reforms Clive left India for good in 1767.

SUMMARY

I. Growth of English Prestige; First War with Siraj-ud-daulah, 1756-1757.

Causes

1. The English fortified Fort William against the French.
2. Siraj-ud-daulah ordered them to demolish the fortifications.
3. The English refused.

Events

1. Calcutta was taken by Siraj-ud-daulah.
2. Its capture was followed by the Black Hole tragedy.
3. Clive captured Budge Budge, Calcutta and Hugli.

Results

1. The English were allowed to fortify Fort William.
2. Siraj-ud-daulah had to pay large indemnities.
3. He remained Nawab but under British control.

II. First step in the formation of the Bengal Presidency; Second War with Siraj-ud-daulah; Cession of Twenty-four Parganas, 1757.

Causes

1. Siraj-ud-daulah intrigued with the French and the Dutch.
2. The French and the Dutch were defeated by Clive.
3. Clive plotted with Mir Jafar to dethrone Siraj-ud-daulah

Events

1. Siraj-ud-daulah was defeated at Plassey.

Results

1. Mir Jafar became Nawab.
2. He paid large indemnities to the English.
3. He ceded the Twenty-four Parganas.

III. Second step in the formation of the Bengal Presidency; Deposition of Mir Jafar; Cession of Midnapur, Chittagong and Burdwan, 1760.

Causes

1. Mir Jafar's treasury was empty.
2. The Servants of the Company hoped to make money by appointing a new Nawab.

Events

1. Mir Kasim was appointed Nawab.

Results

1. The English received large sums of money by way of presents.
2. Midnapur, Chittagong and Burdwan were ceded to the English.

IV. Third step in the formation of the Bengal Presidency; War with Mir Kasim, 1761-1765.

Causes

1. The English refused to pay transit dues and defrauded Mir Kasim of his revenue.

2. Mir Kasim abolished all transit dues, and thus put an end to the English traffic in trading permits.

Events

1. The English occupied Patna.

2. Mir Kasim reoccupied the town, and imprisoned the Englishmen in his dominions.

3. The English dethroned Mir Kasim and sent an army against him.

4. The army defeated Mir Kasim at Gheria, Udwanulla and Monghyr.

5. Mir Kasim threatened to kill the prisoners if the English should advance.

6. Mir Kasim carried out his threat, and killed the prisoners (massacre of Patna).

7. He then fled, and allied himself with Shah Allam II and with Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh.

8. The allies were defeated at Buxar.

9. Shuja-ud-daulah was defeated at Kora.

Results

1. Mir Kasim fled, lived and died in obscurity.

2. Shuja-ud-daulah remained Nawab under British protection.

3. Shah Allam II recognised the English as his feudatories, and granted them the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1765.

4. British supremacy and sovereignty was established in Bengal.

VI. CLIVE

Clive entered the Company in the humble capacity of a clerk, 1744; but during the rival wars between the French and the English he suddenly revealed himself as a great military leader. We will therefore first of all speak of Clive, the soldier.

As Captain Clive, he won great military fame by the gallant capture and heroic defence of Arcot, and by his victories at Arni and Kaveripak. As Colonel Clive, he displayed the same military genius in Bengal, and triumphed over Siraj-ud-daulah at Budge Budge, Calcutta and Hugli. He was equally successful during the Second War with Siraj-ud-daulah, defeated him at Plassey, and obtained from the new Nawab, Mir Jafar, the cession of the Twenty-four Parganas, which was the first step in the formation of the Bengal Presidency. As Lord Clive he made the treaty of Allahabad, by which he obtained for the English the Diwani of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar, and established British sovereignty in that province.

Clive was not only a soldier, he was also an administrator. During his first administration of Bengal he prepared the way for the foundation of British sovereignty in Bengal and in Southern India. For he succeeded in making Mir Jafar entirely dependent on the English, so that the latter were the virtual rulers of the country. At the same time he despatched Colonel Forde to the help of the Raja of Vizianagram, and was thus instrumental in bringing about the loss of the Northern Circars, which was the beginning of the downfall of French Power in Southern India.

During his second administration of Bengal he introduced many useful reforms affecting both the civilians and the soldiers in the service of the Company. The next important administrative measure, which formed the main feature of the Treaty of Allahabad, was the introduction of the Dual System. Clive came to India in 1744, left first in 1753, was back again in 1755; left a second time in 1760, returned in 1765, and left it for good in 1767. He died by his own hand in 1774.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the various steps by which British sovereignty was established in Bengal. (Summary.)

2. Briefly describe Clive's activities, both military and administrative in Bengal. (VI.)

3. Write a note on Clive's first administration of Bengal. (III.)

4. Write a note on Clive's second administration of Bengal. (IV.)

5. Show the importance of the Treaty of Allahabad. (V, 2, *a.*)

6. What were the relations between the English and Siraj-ud-daulah ; between the English and Mir Jafar ; between the English and Mir Kasim ? (Summary.)

7. Write notes on Plassey, Buxar and Kora ; on Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Allam II. (Summary.)

8. Give a short biographical sketch of Clive. (VI.)

No. 2.—IN SOUTHERN INDIA, 1740-1818

Endeavours to establish British sovereignty in Southern India had actually begun before Clive started the formation of the Bengal Presidency, were carried on whilst he was in Bengal, and were persevered in after he had finished his work. These endeavours aimed at the overthrow of the French, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Muhammadan Rulers of Mysore, and the Marathas.

Plan

1. Downfall of the French.
2. Submission of the Nizam.
3. Overthrow of the Muhammadan Rulers of Mysore.
4. Defeat of the Marathas.

I. DOWNFALL OF THE FRENCH, 1740-1760

During the Second Carnatic War, Clive captured Arcot, heroically defended it, forced the besiegers to withdraw, pursued them, and defeated them at Arni and Kaveripak. Next Lawrence and Clive relieved

Trichinopoly. Other victories followed, but the most important of them all was the diplomatic victory by which the English succeeded in persuading the French Government at Paris to recall Dupleix. After the recall of Dupleix the English obtained by the Treaty of Pondicherry all they had been fighting for.

During the Third Carnatic War, Bussy's inopportune recall from the Northern Circars resulted in the loss of that province, the desertion of the French by several allied Indian princes, and the final disaster which the French suffered at Wandiwash. *The defeat of the French was the first step in the establishment of British Sovereignty in Southern India.*

II. SUBMISSION OF THE NIZAM, 1760

During the Second Carnatic War the French were at first successful in securing the Nizami for Muzaffar Jang and afterwards for Salabat Jang But during the Third Carnatic War, after the French had lost the Northern Circars, Salabat Jang transferred his allegiance to the English ; and it is practically from that period that the reciprocal engagements between the Nizam and the English date. *This was the second step in the establishment of British Sovereignty in Southern India.*

III. OVERTHROW OF THE MUHAMMADAN RULERS OF MYSORE, 1766-1799

Rise of Haidar Ali. The kingdom of Mysore was founded in the twelfth century, and to the eighteenth century the country was ruled over by Hindu Rajas. But in 1760 Haidar Ali deprived the Hindu rulers of the throne of Mysore and founded a Muhammadan dynasty. Haidar Ali was a self-made man. He was at one time

a common soldier, but he rapidly rose in power, till he became at last Commander-in-Chief of the Raja's army. He eventually deposed his royal master, and seized the reins of government in 1760.[1]

1. **First Mysore War, 1766-1769.** (*a*) *Causes.* Haidar Ali was looked upon as a dangerous rival both by the Nizam of Hyderabad and by the Marathas. Accordingly the Marathas and the Nizam joined forces; and their combined armies were reinforced by a British contingent contributed by the Madras Government, which allowed itself to be drawn into the War in 1767.

(*b*) *Leading Events.* During the first part of the war Haidar Ali came off second best. It is true that he persuaded the Nizam to withdraw from the triple alliance and to join him in his attack on the English at Changama. But the British forces were commanded by Colonel Smith, who, in no way daunted by the overwhelming odds which he had to face, slowly retreated before the combined armies of Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali, successfully warded off an enemy attack at Changama, and took refuge in Trinomali. Forthwith Haidar Ali besieged the town and, when he thought that the besiegers had been reduced by famine to the last extremities, he tried to take the town by assault. But the attack was not only a failure, it amounted to a defeat; for Haidar Ali was obliged to raise the siege, and to withdraw to the hill country.[2] Haidar Ali's failure was a severe shock to his ally, Nizam Ali, who now thought it prudent to change sides. The Nizam rejoined the English, and as a peace-offering confirmed the cession of the Northern Circars to the English.

Meanwhile Haidar Ali had laid siege to Ambur; but Colonel Smith came to the rescue of the besieged

[1] Bowring, 13, 26, 38. [2] *Ibid.* 50.

garrison, defeated the besieging forces, and relieved the city. He followed up his victories at Ambur by invading Mysore with such brilliant success that in a very short time Haidar Ali found himself deprived of one-half of his kingdom.

During the second part of the war Haidar Ali made good all his losses. Colonel Smith was superseded by Colonel Wood, who was utterly defeated by Haidar Ali near Bangalore. Less than a week later, Haidar Ali, borne on the wings of victory, swooped down upon the south, and encamped within five miles of Madras.[1] The Madras Government were panic-stricken at this sudden turning of the tide, and were only too glad to conclude peace.

(c) *Results.* By the treaty of Madras, 1769, Haidar Ali recovered all his lost territories and the two parties promised to assist each other in defensive wars.

2. Second Mysore War, 1780-1784. (a) *Causes.* Haidar Ali took advantage of the crushing defeat, which the Marathas suffered at Panipat, to gain possession of large tracts of Maratha territory. But the young and valiant Peshwa, Madho Rao I, defeated Haidar Ali, compelled him to restore the territories he had seized, and made him promise to pay 32 lakhs of rupees, 1764. As Haidar Ali failed to pay, the Marathas invaded Mysore, and defeated Haidar Ali at Cherkuli, 1771. Now on this occasion the ruler of Mysore had reminded the English of the treaty of Madras, 1769, by which the English and Haidar Ali had concluded a defensive alliance. He had accordingly asked the English to come to his assistance, but the latter ignored their treaty obligations, and left Haidar Ali in the lurch.[2]

Furthermore, in 1779 the English occupied the French

[1] Bowring, 57. [2] *Ibid.* 82.

settlement of Mahé, the seizure of which filled Haidar Ali with indignation, because it made him dependent on the English for his military supplies. Accordingly, the violation, by the English, of the treaty obligations of 1769, the seizure of Mahé, the strained relations between the English and the Marathas, and, indirectly, the American War of Independence in which France joined the Colonies against England, were all influences which came to a head with the outbreak of the Second Mysore War. Haidar Ali thought that here was the chance for him to strike a blow that would put an end to British prestige in Southern India.

(*b*) *Leading Events.* During the first part of the Second Mysore War the honours were decidedly with Haidar Ali. At the head of an army of 83,000 men, he crossed the Changama Pass, and invaded the plains of the Carnatic. He captured Conjeeveram, out-manoeuvred Sir Hector Munro, who had left Madras to join the forces of Colonel Baillie ; cut to pieces Baillie's detachment of 3,700 men at Pollilor ; captured Arcot, gained possession of Vellore, and inflicted on the English such losses as they had never suffered before.[1]

During the second part of the war the English fully succeeded in retrieving their losses. This turning in the tide was chiefly due to Warren Hastings' energetic measures. He first of all made friends with Bhonsle, and brought off a Maratha aggression in Central India. Next he sent Coote and Pearse to the assistance of the Madras Government. The latter marched by land, the former sailed by sea and landed at Madras. Coote was marching upon Pondicherry, when Haidar Ali once more proved himself a consummate master of strategy. He barred the road that led to the country inland, so

[1] Bowring, 88-92.

that Coote, whose supplies were almost exhausted, found himself enclosed between the sea and Haidar Ali's army. Whilst Coote was thus entrapped, a French squadron under D'Orves was sighted off the coast. Haidar Ali vainly implored the French commander to patrol the seas for a few days, and to cut off the food supplies that the English so sorely needed. But D'Orves sailed away, and his lack of co-operation saved Coote and his army; for, a few days later, Coote was supplied with provisions by English vessels arriving from Madras.[1]

Coote then marched upon Wandiwash, which was being besieged by enemy troops, and relieved its garrison; next he defeated Haidar Ali at Porto Novo. Meanwhile Pearse had arrived on the scene of action; and on the battlefield of Pollilor the combined armies of Coote and Pearse wiped out the disgrace which the English had suffered there the previous year. The victory of Pollilor was followed by that of Sholinghur. Thus the war dragged on, till at last Haidar Ali, having lost all hope, was defeated together with his French allies at Arni in 1782.[2]

Haidar Ali did not long survive the defeat of Arni. He died in December 1782, leaving his son, Tippu Sultan, to continue the fight. Tippu's chief success was the capture of Mangalore. The English, victorious at Dindigul, Palghat and Coimbatore, were actually marching upon Seringapatam and threatening Tippu's capital, when the inefficient Madras Government, to the disgust of Warren Hastings, sent envoys to sue for peace.

(c) *Results.* By the treaty of Mangalore the belligerent parties undertook to release the prisoners they

[1] Malleson, *Dupleix*, 178-180. [2] Bowring, 108.

had taken, and to restore the lands they had conquered. Thus Tippu Sultan recovered all his lost territories, while the English lost all the advantages which they had gained at Porto Novo, Pollilor and Sholinghur.

3. Third Mysore War, 1790-1792. (*a*) *Causes.* The treaty of Mangalore, besides humbling the English, filled Tippu Sultan with intoxicating pride, and he now allowed himself to be fully swayed by unbridled ambition and dreams of future greatness.[1] Accordingly, he entered on a policy of territorial conquests, invaded Malabar, occupied Coorg, successfully fought with the Marathas, and attacked Travancore. Furthermore he was not satisfied with enriching his kingdom, he also forced the Muhammadan creed upon his new subjects. To say the least, Tippu Sultan succeeded in making himself both dreaded and disliked.[2] The English took advantage of this state of general discontent to ally themselves with the Marathas and the Nizam against Tippu Sultan, for they were anxious to make the Indians forget the unfortunate treaty of Mangalore. Besides this, other additional causes were Tippu Sultan's attack on the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the English, and Tippu Sultan's intrigues with the French.

(*b*) *Leading Events.* Lord Cornwallis assumed command of the military operations, invaded Mysore, took Bangalore by assault, and marched upon Seringapatam. Tippu Sultan, anxious to spare his capital, drew up his forces in battle array at Arikera,[3] situated at a short distance from Seringapatam; but he was completely defeated, and took refuge in Seringapatam. Cornwallis, however, had to return to Bangalore, for lack of provisions and ammunition made it impossible for him to follow up his victory and bring the war to a speedy

[1] Bowring, 137. [2] *Ibid.* 143. [3] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 559.

end. After he had received fresh reinforcements from Madras, and had been provided with abundant supplies, he resumed military operations, and marched upon Seringapatam. When his enemies appeared before his capital, Tippu Sultan realised his hopeless position, and sued for peace.

(c) *Results.* By the treaty of Seringapatam Tippu Sultan lost half of his kingdom, and was made to pay great sums of money by way of indemnity. He also had to set free the prisoners he had taken, and to hand over his two sons as hostages. The territories taken from Tippu Sultan were divided among the allies, the share of the English being the districts of Malabar, Salem and Madura.

4. Fourth Mysore War, 1798-1799. (a) *Causes.* Tippu Sultan therefore, eager to win back the territories he had forfeited, and hoping to found a great Muhammadan state, intrigued with the French, who were then at war with the English, and had himself enrolled as a French citizen.[1] French officers arrived at Seringapatam, and hopes were entertained in Mysore that Napoleon's attack on Egypt might sound the knell of British rule in India. Accordingly the Marquis of Wellesley declared war against Tippu Sultan.

(b) *Leading Events.* Two English armies took the field. General Harris, the commander-in-chief, marched from Madras, whilst General Stuart started from Malabar. The two armies were to invade Mysore, the one from the south-east and the other from the south-west; and afterwards they were to combine their forces. Tippu Sultan endeavoured to prevent the union of the two armies by first attacking Stuart's army, but having failed he was himself defeated at Sedasir. Next he

[1] Bowring, 175-176.

turned all his available troops upon Harris' army, but was once more defeated, this time at Malavelli. Thereupon he retreated to Seringapatam, which was soon besieged by the combined armies of Harris and Stuart. Seringapatam was captured in May 1799, and Tippu Sultan fell during the last stages of the fight.

(c) *Results*. The descendants of Tippu were deprived of the right of succession; a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty was placed on the throne of Mysore; and the English added Canara and Coimbatore to their ever-growing dominions. *This was the third step in the establishment of British sovereignty in Southern India.*

IV. DEFEAT OF THE MARATHAS, 1796-1818

After the death of Nana Farnavis the Maratha chiefs were no longer united. Sindia was engaged in active warfare against Holkar, and when Holkar was victorious, the Peshwa, who had sided with Sindia, fled to Bassein. By signing the treaty of Bassein he sacrificed his independence as the price of British protection. The other Maratha chiefs, who had not been party to the treaty, were opposed to it; but all of them were doomed to suffer the fate which Baji Rao II had brought upon himself. During the Second Maratha War Arthur Wellesley defeated the combined armies of Bhonsle and Sindia at Assaye; next he defeated Bhonsle at Argaon, and forced him to sign the treaty of Deogaon, which was but a second edition of the treaty of Bassein. Shortly afterwards Sindia was defeated near Delhi and at Laswari, and signed the treaty of Arjungaon, which was a third edition of the treaty of Bassein. During the Third Maratha War Holkar was being hard pressed, when the recall of Arthur Wellesley saved him for a time from becoming a feudatory to the English. But

during the Fourth Maratha War the Subsidiary System was also forced upon him. The Peshwa was defeated at Kirkee, Ashti and Koregaon; Bhonsle was dealt with at Nagpur; Holkar suffered defeat at Mahidpur; whilst Sindia, overawed by the defeat of the other Maratha chiefs, remained quiet. The result was a final settlement which was but a fourth edition of the treaty of Bassein. The Maratha chiefs lost their independence, and became feudatories of the English. *This was the fourth step in the establishment of British sovereignty in Southern India.*

SUMMARY

First Mysore War, 1766-1769

Causes

The Marathas and the Nizam attacked Haidar Ali: The English joined them.

Events

Haidar won over the Nizam to his side, and attacked the English. Colonel Smith warded off the attack at Changama, and retreated to Trinomali, which was besieged by Haidar, who after a vain assault, raised the siege. Smith invaded Mysore, and Haidar lost half of his kingdom.

Smith was superseded by Wood, who was defeated; and Haidar marched upon, and threatened Madras.

Results

Treaty of Madras: restoration of territories and a defensive alliance.

Second Mysore War, 1780-1784

Causes

The English refused to help Haidar against the Marathas (treaty of 1769); the English occupied Mahé, and thus made Haidar dependent on them for military supplies. Haidar wanted to crush the English who were at war with the French and threatened by the Marathas.

Events

Haidar invaded the Carnatic, captured Conjeeveram, outmanoeuvred Munro, and defeated Baillie at Pollilor. Hastings

bought off Bhonsle, and sent Pearse with an army by land and Coote with another army by sea.

Coote's army relieved Wandiwash, and won the battle of Porto Novo. The combined armies of Coote and Pearse were victorious at Pollilor and Sholinghur, and in 1782 Haidar and the French were defeated at Arni. Haidar died that year. His son, Tippu Sultan, continued the struggle, and captured Mangalore. The English army was marching upon Seringapatam when the Madras Government sued for peace.

Results

Treaty of Mangalore ; restoration of territories ; the English lost the advantages gained at Porto Novo, Pollilor, and Sholinghur.

Third Mysore War, 1790-1792

Causes

Tippu Sultan invaded Malabar, occupied Coorg, attacked Travancore, and fought successfully with the Marathas. His cruelties caused him to be dreaded, his religious policy caused him to be disliked. He also intrigued with the French.

Events

Cornwallis invaded Mysore, captured Bangalore, and defeated Tippu at Arikera. He then returned to Bangalore, got reinforcements and provisions, and marched upon Seringapatam. Tippu sued for peace.

Results

Treaty of Seringapatam : Tippu lost half of his dominions, had to pay great sums of money as indemnity, and his two sons were delivered as hostages. The English obtained Malabar, Salem and Madura.

Fourth Mysore War, 1798-1799

Causes

Tippu was eager to retrieve his losses, to reconquer his lost dominions, and to found a great Muhammadan State. He intrigued with the French, and hoped that Napoleon's attack on Egypt would be the end of British rule in India.

Events

Two English armies took the field : General Harris marched from Madras ; General Stuart from Malabar. Tippu tried to

prevent their union, and attacked first Stuart's army, but was defeated at Sedasir ; next he attacked Harris's army, but was defeated at Malavelli. The combined English armies besieged and captured Seringapatam ; Tippu was killed in the final attack.

Results

Tippu's sons were deprived of the right of succession ; a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty became the Raja of Mysore under English protection. The English obtained Canara and Coimbatore.

SUMMARY

Foundation of British sovereignty in South India.

I. Overthrow of the French, 1740-1761

During the Second Carnatic War, the victories of Clive, the relief of Trichinopoly, and the recall of Dupleix were prejudicial to French interests. During the Third Carnatic War Bussy's recall from the Circars, the defection of Indian princes, and the battle of Wandiwash put an end to French influence.

II. Submission of the Nizam, 1759

After the French loss of the Northern Circars the Nizam joined the English.

III. Overthrow of Mysore, 1766-1799

During the Third Mysore War Tippu Sultan lost half of his kingdom.

During the Fourth Mysore War Tippu Sultan was killed, and the Hindu dynasty was restored under British control.

IV. Overthrow of the Marathas, 1796-1818

The treaties of Bassein, Deogaon and Arjungaon and the disastrous Fourth Maratha War firmly established British supremacy.

MYSORE AFTER THE DOWNFALL AND DEATH OF TIPPU SULTAN

After Tippu's downfall and death, a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty was restored to the throne of

Mysore. During his minority the interests of the country were well looked after by an able minister. But, when the young Raja himself assumed the reins of government, his extravagance and oppression led to a rebellion among his subjects, 1830. The rebellion was put down by an English force; and Mysore was annexed. But in 1881 the adopted son of the Raja was restored to the throne of Mysore.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace the growth of British sovereignty in Southern India. (Summary.)

2. Give a short summary of the history of Mysore under its Muhammadan rulers, 1760-1799. (Summary.)

3. Write short biographical sketches of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan. (III.)

4. Give the causes, events, and results of the four Mysore Wars. (Summary.)

5. Contrast the Policy of the Government of Madras with that of the Government of Calcutta during the conflict with the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore.

No. 3.—WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, 1772-1774

Plan

1. Difficulties of Warren Hastings.
2. Difficulties Overcome.
3. Growing Power of Haidar Ali.

I. DIFFICULTIES OF WARREN HASTINGS

1. What they were. After Clive had returned home, the administration of Bengal was entrusted for three years to Verelst, 1767-1770, and for two years to Carter, 1770-1772. But they were men devoid of administrative ability, and when Warren Hastings was appointed

Governor of Calcutta, he was faced with extraordinary difficulties.

These difficulties were the outcome of the Dual System. According to this arrangement the country was occupied by the English military, but financially and judicially administered by the Nawab's officers. The latter were not interfered with by the English so long as they managed to satisfy the Company by the yearly payment of a goodly revenue. But, besides the money paid to the English, there were considerable sums of surplus revenue money which went into the pockets of the agents ; so that there was practically no settled and legal revenue, and by the use of intimidation the people were made to disgorge the greater part of their hard-won earnings.[1]

The Judicial department was as badly organised and run as the Financial department. The Indian judges could administer the law much as they liked, for there was hardly any control exercised over the Courts of Justice, where justice was for sale to the highest bidder. Moreover, the conduct of the servants of the Company was not above reproach ; they fell into the old ways of their predecessors and amassed vast fortunes by the accumulation of personal emoluments.[2] To make matters worse, in 1770 a terrible famine swooped down upon the already stricken people, and one-third of the population is said to have died.[3]

Such was the state of things when Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal: a famine-stricken province, and a decimated population at the mercy of a host of money-grabbers.

[1] Trotter, 52. [2] Keene, i. 181. [3] Trotter, 53.

II. DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME

1. Financial Policy. Warren Hastings first of all inaugurated a series of financial or revenue reforms. The revenue system established by Warren Hastings may perhaps best be described as *The Temporary Settlement*, of which the following are the main features. He leased vast tracts of land to the highest bidding Zemindar for a period of five years. He withdrew the management of the financial department from the agents of the Nawab, and transferred it to the servants of the Company, thus hoping to stabilise the revenue and to control its collection. The servants of the Company, whose business it was to collect the revenue, were called *collectors*.

Though this new system put an end to many malpractices, yet it was far from ideal. It did but little to better the lot of the ryots or small farmers, for the Zemindars, eager to get as much money out of them as possible, held them completely at their mercy. Moreover, the fact that the land was only leased for a period of five years, after which it would be again placed in the market to be farmed out anew to the highest bidder, made the Zemindar in possession more than reluctant to improve his holding; for any improvements made would only serve to increase the price he would have to pay if he wished to remain in possession. But in spite of its many drawbacks, the Temporary Settlement was an improvement on the system of wholesale extortion and wide-spread corruption which it replaced.

2. Judicial Reforms. Warren Hastings also transferred the administration of justice from the servants of the Nawab to those of the Company. For judicial purposes he divided the country into districts, each

district having its civil and criminal court. The District Magistrate, who decided both civil and criminal cases, being the collector of revenues. He abolished the custom by which in civil cases the magistrate claimed for himself one-fourth of the amount in dispute as adjudicating fee. He established at Calcutta a double court of appeal, one for criminal and another for civil cases. Finally, to safeguard the interests of the Company and to put a stop to the hankering after personal emolument, he issued orders that the servants of the Company should neither become landed proprietors, nor trade on their own account.

3. Attitude towards Indian princes. In his policy towards Indian princes, Warren Hastings was bent on improving the financial prospects of the Company. He cut down the allowance of the Nawab of Bengal by one half, and thus curtailed the yearly expenses of the Company by sixteen lakhs.[1] He saved the Company another yearly expense of twenty-six lakhs by withholding the tribute which had been promised to the Emperor, Shah Allam II, when the latter granted to the English the Diwani of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. His justification in the present case was that the Emperor had thrown in his lot with the Marathas, the sworn foes of the English.[2] Furthermore, he secured for the Company another sum of fifty lakhs by the cession of Kora and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh.[3] Shortly afterwards Shuja-ud-daulah helped the Rohillas against the Marathas who had overrun their country. But after Rohilkhand was freed from the Maratha invaders, the Rohillas refused to pay to Shuja-ud-daulah the price which the latter had asked for assisting them, and which amounted to no less than

[1] Trotter, 63. [2] Ibid. 80. [3] Ibid. 82.

forty lakhs. Thereupon the Nawab of Oudh asked Warren Hastings to help him against the Rohillas. Warren Hastings consented on condition that the forty lakhs which the Rohillas owed to the Nawab should be paid to him. Accordingly an English force invaded Rohilkhand, and defeated the Rohillas at Katra. By this victory Warren Hastings was able to get hold of forty lakhs.[1] Thus the treasury of the Company was now being rapidly replenished

III. GROWING POWER OF HAIDAR ALI IN SOUTHERN INDIA

In Southern India Haidar Ali had seized the throne of Mysore. His coming into power was viewed with distrust by the Nizam and by the Marathas, who combined against him. and succeeded in dragging the Madras Government into the First Mysore War, 1766-1769. Two years later, in 1771, the English failed to carry out the treaty obligations of 1769, and the result was that Haidar Ali was defeated by the Marathas at Cherkuli. Furthermore, in 1779 the English occupied Mahé. Thereupon Haidar Ali, profiting by the strained relations between the Marathas and the English, declared war. But a full account of the First Mysore War has already been given in the previous chapter, to which we refer the student for further details. The Second Mysore War was fought after Warren Hastings had become Governor-General.

[1] Trotter, 86-87.

SUMMARY

(Organisation of British power)

Governor of Bengal, 1772-1774

I. Difficulties

1. Extortion practised by the Nawab's revenue collectors.
2. Justice for sale.
3. Servants of the Company amassed vast fortunes.
4. Famine-stricken and devastated province.
5. Critical financial state of the Company.

II. Reforms

1. Judicial and revenue departments transferred to the Company.

2. Englishmen appointed to act both as collectors of revenue and as judges in districts (a double court of appeal in Calcutta).

3. Temporary settlement (lands leased for five years to the highest bidding Zemindar).

4. Treasury of the Company repleted (curtailing the allowance of the Nawab of Bengal, withholding the tribute of the Moghul Emperor, cession of Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab of Oudh, and helping the latter against the Rohillas—132 lakhs).

QUESTIONS

1. What difficulties had Warren Hastings to face, and how did he overcome them ? (I.)

2. In the light of subsequent events, what judgment would you pass on Clive's Dual System ? (I.)

3. Write notes on Warren Hastings' judicial and financial reforms. (II.)

4. Write a short note on the revenue system introduced by Warren Hastings ; mention its chief features, its advantages, its disadvantages. (II. 1.)

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF BRITISH INDIA

No. 1.—WARREN HASTINGS, 1774-1785

Plan

1. The Regulating Act.
2. Affairs in Southern India.
3. Money Difficulties and Exactions.

I. THE REGULATING ACT, 1774

When the Company applied to the British Government for help in the form of a loan of £1,000,000, Lord North took this occasion to force upon the Company the control of the Home Government—a control exercised in "regulating" the government of the Company. Hence the Act was called the Regulating Act.

By the Regulating Act the Governor of the Bengal Presidency was made Governor-General, to whom the Governors of Madras and Bombay were declared to be subordinate. A Council of Four Members was established to aid the Governor-General in the administration of the Company's territorial possessions. The Governor and Council were appointed by the Act, though it was conceded that in future the Company should appoint these officers subject to the approval of the Crown. Finally, a Supreme Court of Justice was established in Calcutta, presided over by a Chief Justice and three other judges. These judges were likewise appointed by

Regulating Act

the Crown, and were independent of the Governor and his Council.

The Regulating Act was the beginning of Parliamentary encroachments upon the rights of the Company.

Drawbacks of the Regulating Act. When the Regulating Act was put to the test it proved a failure. First of all the Governor was liable to be interfered with by the judges over whom he had no control. He was also totally dependent on his Council, for this council was composed of four members each having the same authority as the Governor-General himself. The latter therefore found himself practically powerless. Thus, for example, during the first two years of Warren Hastings' administration, three of the members of the Council leagued themselves against him, and outvoted him on every question. The Council therefore could hardly be called an administrative body; its consultations were nothing else but ceaseless wranglings and reciprocal recriminations.[1]

The powerlessness of the Governor-General is best exemplified by the disgraceful treaty which the majority of the Council forced on Asaf-ud-daulah, Shuja-ud-daulah's successor as Nawab of Oudh. The new Nawab had to surrender to the Company the revenue of Benares, to increase the allowance for the maintenance of British troops, and to hand over all the money which was left in the treasury of the state when Shuja-ud-daulah died, to the deceased ruler's widow and his mother, who were called the Begums of Oudh.[2]

The personal spite which the majority in the Council never wearied of showing towards Warren Hastings, is also clearly shown by the Nandkumar incident. Indians were not slow to take advantage of the dissensions

[1] Trotter, 99-103. [2] *Ibid*, 104-105.

between the two parties in the Council. Either upon his own initiative, or upon the inducement of Warren Hastings' enemies, Nandkumar boldly accused the Governor-General of bribery. The majority in the Council eagerly seized upon the accusation, and did not hesitate to claim the right of investigating the case and passing sentence on the Governor-General. It is difficult to say how things would have ultimately ended; but the accusation against the Governor-General was suddenly left, without plaintiff to bring it forward, by Nandkumar's execution, because he had been found guilty of forgery. The condemnation and execution of Nandkumar came to Warren Hastings as a most opportune relief.

The dissensions in the Council went on during the first two years of Warren Hastings' administration as Governor-General. Then one of the members of the majority died, and the man who replaced him was on friendly terms with the Governor-General, who henceforth was able to exercise the powers that had been conferred upon him by the Regulating Act.

II. AFFAIRS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

Whilst Warren Hastings was Governor-General of British India, the English in Southern India fought against the Marathas and Haidar Ali. Both wars are here mentioned in order to point out the share which the Governor-General had in them.

The first Maratha War was a private venture of the Bombay Government in defiance of the Regulating Act, not known to them before the war broke out and afterwards ignored. But they paid dearly for their foolhardiness ; for the fighting ended in the unfortunate Convention of Wargaon. Warren Hastings, however,

promptly made good the loss of British prestige by equipping a military force, and sending it under the command of Colonel Goddard from Calcutta right across India. In the conflict which ensued, the Calcutta contingent defeated the Marathas, thus enabling the English to cancel the dishonourable Convention of Wargaon and to make the more advantageous treaty of Salbai, 1782.

The success of the Second Mysore War was also largely due to Warren Hastings' relentless energy and skilled diplomacy. First of all he bought off Bhonsle, and won him over to the side of the English by offering the tempting bait of a large sum of money. Thus he averted a Maratha attack on the English in Bengal. Next he despatched Colonel Pearse by land and Colonel Coote by sea to the south of India, where they forthwith retrieved the British losses, and fought victorious battles at Porto Novo, Pollilor and Sholinghur. It is true that the English failed to reap the fruit of these victories, but this was not Warren Hastings' fault. The treaty of Mangalore was the work of the inefficient and panic-stricken Madras Government, and filled Warren Hastings with contempt for the responsible signatories.

III. MONEY DIFFICULTIES AND EXACTIONS

Warren Hastings had not spared either himself or his soldiers ; nor had he spared the money of the Company. The result was that he was in great financial straits. To fill the empty treasury of the Company, therefore, he exacted large sums amounting to over a hundred lakhs of rupees from the feudatory Raja of Benares, and from the Begums of Oudh.

The feudatory Raja of Benares, Chaith Singh, was already paying an annual tribute of twenty-five lakhs.

When Warren Hastings asked for an additional five lakhs, Chaith Singh refused to comply with the request, whereupon Warren Hastings ordered his arrest. The Raja's followers, however, fell upon the guards, cut them down, and enabled their leader to escape. But this incipient rebellion was easily put down; and Chaith Singh fled from Benares. His successor, appointed by Warren Hastings, promised to pay an annual tribute of forty lakhs of rupees.[1]

Warren Hastings also exacted seventy-six lakhs of rupees from the Begums of Oudh. The Nawab of Oudh, Asaf-ud-daulah, pleaded that he could not pay the debts which he owed to the Company, because he had been obliged to hand over the State Treasury to his predecessor's mother and his widow. Thereupon Warren Hastings authorised him to claim back half of the treasury, on condition that it should be paid to the Company.[2] But Warren Hastings' way of dealing with the Begums of Oudh was severely censured by the Directors of the Company, who even threatened to dismiss him. Warren Hastings therefore resigned.

These money exactions became the principal charge brought against him in the long trial which he had to undergo before the House of Lords. The trial lasted for seven years, 1788-1795, and Warren Hastings was finally acquitted.

SUMMARY

(Organisation of British Power)

Governor-General, 1774-1785

I. Occasion

The Regulating Act

[1] Trotter, 179-180. [2] *Ibid.* 182.

II. Difficulties

1. Independence of and interference by the judicial department.

2. Dependence on the Council.

3. Enmity of the members of the Council.

4. Financial straits owing to the First Maratha War.

III. Activities

1. Could only act as Governor-General after obtaining a majority in the Council.

2. Took active part in the First Maratha War (Purandhur, Nana Farnavis, Salsette, Wargaon, Goddard, Salbai).

3. Exacted money from Benares and from the Begums of Oudh.

4. Money exactions led to resignation and trial.

5. Warded off Maratha attack during the Second Mysore War, sent Pearse and Coote against Haidar Ali.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on the Regulating Act ; give its main features and drawbacks ; or what difficulties had Warren Hastings to face when he became Governor-General ? (I.)

2. Write a short note on the Nandkumar incident. (I.)

3. Write a note on Warren Hastings' money difficulties and money exactions. (III.)

4. What was Warren Hastings' share in the First Maratha War and in the Second Mysore War ? (II.)

5. Write a short biographical sketch of Warren Hastings. (Summary of previous and present chapter.)

6. Write a note on two important Acts passed by the British Parliament during Warren Hastings' administration, and intimately connected with Indian History. (For Pitt's India Bill *see* the next chapter.)

No. 2.—LORD CORNWALLIS, 1786-1793

Plan

1. Pitt's India Bill.
2. Appointment of Cornwallis.
3. Financial Reforms.
4. Judicial Reforms.
5. Tippu Sultan.

PITT'S INDIA BILL, 1784

1. **Occasion.** The defective working of the Regulating Act, clearly evidenced as it was by the unedifying display of acrimonious wrangling between the members of the Council and the Governor-General made further Parliamentary legislation imperative. Moreover, after the unfortunate War of American Independence, British statesmen began to consider India as a fair substitute for the lost territories in America. Accordingly Pitt's India Bill of 1784 was a further encroachment upon the rights of the Company.

2. **Main Features.** One of the main features of Pitt's India Bill was that it drew a sharp line of demarcation between commercial transactions and political activities. Up to this time all the affairs of the Company had been looked after by the Board of Directors, but Pitt's India Bill provided for the creation of a Board of Control consisting of six members, appointed by the Crown and entrusted with the management of all political affairs. This Board of Control was also vested with the sole right and power to engage in offensive warfare, and to enter into alliances with the Indian princes. The Board of Directors retained the management only of commercial transactions ; but even in this respect, important reservations were made.

All the orders sent out by the Board of Directors to the servants of the Company required the previous sanction of the Board of Control. Moreover, though the Board of Directors could propose a candidate for the office of Governor-General, the appointment ultimately rested with the Board of Control. Finally, a further addition to the Bill was made when Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General. According to the clauses of the Bill the Council of the Governor-General had been reduced to three members in order to check attempts of organised opposition by the members of the Council to the Governor-General. But Cornwallis refused to accept the office of Governor-General, unless he was given the power in extreme cases of importance to act without the Council's consent; his request was complied with, and thus the Governor-General was practically made independent of his Council.[1]

By way of conclusion it may be said that Pitt's India Bill left but a semblance of power to the Company: the Board of Directors exercised a control which was largely nominal in character, while the real governing body was the Board of Control.

II. APPOINTMENT OF CORNWALLIS

Cornwallis' appointment deserves special mention for two reasons. First of all it was with this appointment that the custom originated to select as Governor-General, and later on as Viceroy, one who has seen no previous service in India. As a rule, the choice fell on a member of an influential and aristocratic family with large and widely known political connections. Thus it was hoped to secure for this important post a person both capable and independent, whose actions would be

[1] Seton-Karr, 17-18.

in no way fettered by local ties.[1] In the next place, with the appointment of Cornwallis a change took place in the Company's attitude towards Indian princes. According to Pitt's India Bill, the Governor-General could not, on his own authority, engage in offensive warfare. This clause was a first step towards the non-intervention policy. Finally Cornwallis was the first Governor-General that became virtually independent of the Council.

III. FINANCIAL REFORMS

Warren Hastings had made an attempt to counteract the evil consequences of the Dual System by introducing financial and judicial reforms. As soon as Cornwallis became Governor-General, he took up this work of reform, and devised further improvements.

1. Permanent Settlement. Accordingly he first replaced Warren Hastings' Temporary Settlement by the Permanent Settlement. It was so called because the revenue to be paid was fixed once for all. Furthermore, the fixed revenue was assessed, not on the individuals who occupied and cultivated the lands, but on the Zemindars, who thus became both land-owners and landlords, whilst the farmers or ryots were reduced to the state of tenants.

The Permanent Settlement introduced by Cornwallis was a change for the better, as it did away with the gigantic task of periodical reassessments, and encouraged the Zemindars to improve their lands. But, apart from these advantages which it undoubtedly secured, it had many disadvantages. First of all it ignored the rights of small proprietors, whose holdings became the property of the Zemindars. Moreover, it did not

[1] Sinclair, 185.

sufficiently safeguard the interests of the ryots, who were entirely at the mercy of the Zemindars; for practically all the profits went into the pockets of the landlords, while the hard-working ryot had no prospects whatever of improving his condition. The latter is as miserably off now as he was two centuries ago.

Finally, as the needs of the country increased and necessitated an all-round increase of taxation all over India, the Bengal Zemindars, whose wealth has become proverbial, continued to pay a land revenue which bore no proportion to the vast profits they were making. The result, now, is that the land revenue is not only very unequally distributed among the various provinces of India, but that taxation on other goods has been increased, whilst even now the Government is looking for fresh sources of revenue by proposing to levy duties on articles that were formerly untaxed.

2. Other Financial Reforms. Besides establishing the Permanent Settlement, Cornwallis took active steps to control more carefully the collection of the land revenue. Accordingly the collectors were deprived of their judicial power, so that they could now fully attend to revenue matters. Finally, in order to put a stop to the evil practices of the servants of the Company, Cornwallis considerably increased their salaries, in the hope that they would be less inclined to make light of the order by which they were forbidden to engage in private trading operations.

IV. JUDICIAL REFORMS

As the collectors were now deprived of their judicial powers, District Judges were appointed for judicial work, both civil and criminal. But, in his eagerness to secure the equitable administration of justice, the

Governor-General went too far when he entrusted this department entirely to Europeans.[1] By this measure the Indians were practically excluded from all the higher offices, and could only secure very subordinate positions in the service of the Company. The result was that those Indians who did enter the service of the Company, satisfied as they were with the meaner offices, were not men possessed of great capabilities, and were therefore but poor specimens of their country's real worth.

V. TIPPU SULTAN

Tippu Sultan, the son and successor of Haidar Ali, was bent upon laying the foundation of a large Muhammadan State in Southern India, and upon expelling the English from the country. Tippu's ambitious schemes led to the Third Mysore War during which Cornwallis himself successfully directed the military operations. He defeated Tippu Sultan at Arikera and afterwards marched upon Seringapatam, Tippu's capital, so that the Muhammadan Ruler of Mysore was compelled to sue for peace.

SUMMARY

(Organisation of British power)

I. Before he became Governor-General

Took part in the War of American Independence (Yorktown).

II. Governor-General, 1786-1793

Independence of the Council.

1. Permanent Settlement: lands ceded to Zemindars at a fixed rent.
2. Collectors deprived of judicial power.
3. Judges appointed to replace Collectors.
4. Took active part in the Third Mysore War (captured Bangalore, victorious at Arikera, marched upon Seringapatam).

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 571.

5. Increased the pay of the servants of the Company.

6. Excluded all Indians from the judicial department.

N.B.—Returned as Governor-General after Wellesley's departure to follow the non-intervention policy; died after three months.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Pitt's India Bill. (I.)

2. What important circumstances marked the appointment of Cornwallis? (II.)

3. Write a note on Cornwallis' financial and judicial reforms. (III.)

4. Give a short biographical sketch of Cornwallis. (Summary.)

N.B.—THE LAND REVENUE IN INDIA

I. LAND REVENUE SYSTEM PRIOR TO BRITISH RULE

Sher Shah

The assessment was based on the measurement of the land and on the valuation of the crop. One-fourth of the produce was claimed by the State.

Akbar (Todar Mall)

He divided the lands into three classes; ordered accurate measurement of cultivated areas to be made. The assessment was based on the quality and quantity of the land. The land revenue was not farmed out. One-third of the produce was claimed by the State.

Shivaji

A land survey was made. The assessment was based on the measurement of the land and on the valuation of the crop. Together with Sardesmukhi one-half of the produce was claimed by the State. He also collected Chauth.

II. LAND REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER BRITISH RULE

Clive

He left the land revenue system as he found it; and entrusted the management to the officers of the Nawab.

These officers extorted more than they had a right to.

Warren Hastings

He introduced important reforms. He transferred the management of the revenue to the servants of the Company and appointed collectors to gather the land tax.

He introduced a Temporary Settlement, by which the lands were leased for five years to the highest bidding Zemindar.

He expropriated the ryots. He did not safeguard their interests. He did not encourage the Zemindars to improve their lands.

Cornwallis

He introduced the Permanent Settlement, by which the revenue was fixed once and for all. He made the Zemindars land-owners and landlords. He deprived the Collectors of all judicial power.

Thus he encouraged the Zemindars to improve their land and did away with the task of periodical assessments.

But he expropriated the ryots, and did not safeguard their interests. In course of time the land tax was unequally distributed, and caused duties to be levied on non-taxed articles.

III. MODERN LAND REVENUE SYSTEMS

1. Permanent Settlement. There is first of all the Permanent Settlement established by Cornwallis. According to this system the revenue is assessed on one individual recognised by the State as landlord, and the rent is fixed. This system prevails in Bengal, and its disadvantages have already been pointed out.

2. Zemindari System. Next there is the Zemindari System. As in the case of the Permanent Settlement System the revenue is assessed on the individual recognised by the State as landlord. But the Zemindari System differs from the Permanent Settlement in this, that the revenue is reassessed at fixed periods. It prevails in the United and Central Provinces and in the Punjab. As a system it is preferable to the Permanent Settlement, because it does not lead to over-taxation in other parts of India.

3. Ryotwari System. Finally there is the Ryotwari

System. Munro, Governor of Madras, adopted the system of land revenue which he found in existence. According to this system the revenue is assessed on each individual farmer, who is said to hold the land in right of occupancy. The ryot is therefore the real owner of the land, and can dispose of it as he likes. Reassessment of the revenue takes place at fixed periods. The System prevails in Madras, and inasmuch as it respects the rights of the farmer it is superior to the other two systems.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace the growth of the land revenue system in India. (I-III.)

2. Describe and discuss the various systems of land revenue that were known in India before the coming of the English. (I.)

3. Describe and discuss the various steps by which the English introduced and reformed their land revenue systems. (II.)

4. Which are the principal land revenue systems now prevailing in India? (III.)

No. 3.—SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793-1798

Plan

1. The non-intervention Policy.
2. Sir John Shore and Non-intervention.

I. NON-INTERVENTION

1. What does it mean? The non-intervention policy may aptly be described as the "let alone" policy. It professed to abstain from all schemes of territorial aggrandisement. It also deprecated the entering into alliances with Indian princes, as such alliances were likely to end by involving the contracting parties in war. But this peaceful attitude towards the Indian princes was only to be observed as long as the balance

of power amongst the various native states was kept undisturbed. The Governor-General was therefore obliged to see to it that no Indian ruler should become so powerful as to eclipse all the others, for in such a case his growing power and influence might become a standing danger to the Company.

2. Comment on the System. The non-intervention policy had every appearance of common sense in its favour, but in reality it involved contradictions which were bound to make the policy end in hopeless failure. If the balance of power among the Indian princes had to be kept undisturbed, offensive warfare could hardly be avoided; while if the preservation of the balance of power among Indian princes were given up, there would sooner or later arise an Indian ruler who would eclipse all the others, enlarge his dominions at the expense of neighbouring states, and finally grow so powerful as to become a standing danger to the English. Subsequent events amply proved the inadequacy of the system of non-intervention.

II. SIR JOHN SHORE AND NON-INTERVENTION

When Sir John Shore was made Governor-General, he was pledged to follow the non-intervention policy. In his own words, "the duties of my situation are too much for my ability." [1] It is true that he successfully interfered in the dissensions which arose in Oudh. After the death of Asaf-ud-daulah there were rival claimants to the throne. Thereupon the Governor-General personally investigated the claims of each, and boldly set aside the pretensions of the one who was but an impostor. In other respects his administration was a failure, because he failed to keep the balance of power

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 574.

among the Indian princes undisturbed, so that British supremacy in India was seriously threatened.

The Marathas were once more actively occupied in extending their dominions, and defeated the Nizam at Kharda ; Tippu Sultan was intriguing with the French and the Afghans in order to gain allies with whose help he might drive the English out of India. French officers in the service of the Nizam, of Tippu, Sindia and Holkar were successfully drilling the armies of these princes, and as their influence increased, the dangers that threatened the English grew apace. Besides this, the non-intervention policy was the occasion of civil strife in some states, and of maladministration in others ; so that the country was in a general state of unrest. When Sir John Shore retired, therefore, his successor was faced with many difficulties, all of which were the outcome of the non-intervention policy.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the main features of the non-intervention policy ; and point out the disastrous results of Sir John Shore's non-intervention policy. (I.)
2. Write a short note on Sir John Shore's administration. (II.)
3. What difficulties had Wellesley to face when he became Governor-General ? (II.)

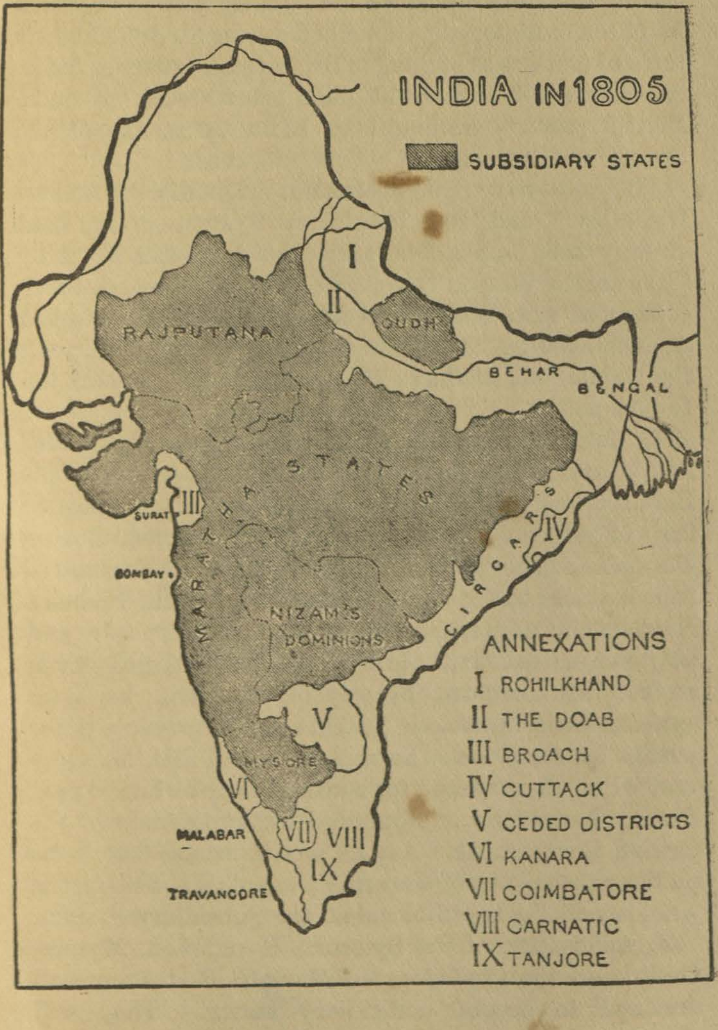
No. 4.—THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY, 1798-1805

Plan

1. The Subsidiary System.
2. Annexations.
3. Success of the Subsidiary System.
4. Wellesley's Administration.

I. THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

1. Devising the System. The Marquis of Wellesley was sent out with explicit instructions to preserve


INDIA IN 1805
SUBSIDIARY STATES
I
II
OUDH
RAJPUTANA
BEHAR
BENGAL
MARATHA STATES
III
SURAT
IV
CIRCARS
BOMBAY
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
V
MYSORE
VI
VII
VIII
IX
MALABAR
TRAVANCORE
ANNEXATIONS
I ROHILKHAND
II THE DOAB
III BROACH
IV CUTTACK
V CEDED DISTRICTS
VI KANARA
VII COIMBATORE
VIII CARNATIC
IX TANJORE

among the Indian princes the balance of power, which had been so materially disturbed during Sir John Shore's term of office as to endanger British supremacy in India. Accordingly Wellesley at once set to work to make British power paramount in India by means of the Subsidiary System.

The Subsidiary System was not originally devised by Wellesley; and the Subsidiary System policy had already been applied in particular instances both by Clive and by Warren Hastings; yet it is in a special way connected with Wellesley's name because he perfected it, and made use of it to such a large extent that it can rightly be said to have been the corner-stone of his Indian policy.

2. **Main Features.** The following are the characteristic features of the subsidiary system policy. The Indian prince, with whom a subsidiary treaty was made, first of all could not have among his servants any Europeans belonging to a nation hostile to England—(this measure was specially directed against the French). Next he had to promise not to wage offensive wars and not to enter into alliances with princes of neighbouring states. Furthermore, by way of protecting his state against hostile incursions, and in order to preserve peace within his dominions, he was provided with an army under British command for whose upkeep he had to pay. Finally he had to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government. As the money which had to be paid for the upkeep of the army was called a *subsidy*, the whole system came to be called the Subsidiary System.

3. **Application of the System.** Hyderabad, Mysore, Oudh, and the Confederated Maratha States were all destined to become subsidiary states. They will therefore be mentioned in succession in order to show

the relentless energy with which Wellesley carried out his plans.

(*a*) *Hyderabad.* When Wellesley landed in India, Hyderabad was already fast approaching the condition of a subsidiary state ; for a large tract of country had already been assigned to pay for the upkeep of an army of ten thousand men. But this force was commanded by a French officer whose influence with the Nizam was greatly detrimental to the British cause.[1] Moreover, information leaked out that the Nizam had been intriguing with Tippu Sultan against the English. Thereupon Wellesley, impatient of all further delay, forced him by the treaty of 1798 to subscribe to all the clauses of the subsidiary system, 1800.

(*b*) *Mysore.* Next came the turn of Mysore. We have already spoken of the Fourth Mysore War, 1799. It is sufficient for our purpose here to remind the student that Tippu Sultan was intriguing with the French and the Afghans to drive the English out of India. But Wellesley, so far from allowing the ruler of Mysore either to mature or to materialise his plans, anticipated his attacks, and boldly declared war. Tippu Sultan was defeated, his descendants were deprived of the right of succession, and the old Hindu dynasty was re-established. The new rulers were of course quite ready to submit to the subsidiary system policy, 1799.

(*c*) *Oudh.* After Mysore came the turn of Oudh. The Nawab of Oudh was found fault with, because his army was deplorably neglected.[2] Now Wellesley, keenly alive to the danger of an Afghan invasion, was anxious to secure the British territories from all hostile attempts on the part of the Afghans. Negotiations were actively entered into with the Nawab, and they resulted in the

[1] Hutton, 22. [2] *Ibid.* 64-65.

Treaty of Lucknow, by which the subsidiary system was forced upon the unwilling Nawab, who was also compelled to give up half of his territory, the Doab and Rohilkhand, 1801.

(*d*) *The Maratha Confederacy.* Last of all, the Marathas were deprived of their independence. A detailed account of the Second and of the Third Maratha Wars has already been given elsewhere. These wars are mentioned here as instances of the policy pursued by Wellesley. When Baji Rao II fled to the English for protection, he was received by them with open arms. Protection was not only promised, but also given him. But the price of that protection was the Treaty of Bassein, and his willingness to subscribe to the subsidiary system policy. Always in pursuance of the same policy, war was next declared against Bhonsle and Sindia, 1803, and afterwards Holkar, 1804. The latter prince, owing to Wellesley's recall in 1805, retained his independence for some time. But Bhonsle and Sindia were compelled to sign the Treaties of Deogaon and Arjungaon, which were but other editions of the Treaty of Bassein. They became feudatory princes, and had to submit to the subsidiary system policy. Another Maratha chief, the Gaikwar, bowed to the inevitable without even attempting a blow to ward off the loss of independent sovereignty, 1805.

II. ANNEXATIONS

The successful policy of forming subsidiary alliances with the native princes led to the cession of large territories, which were handed over to the English to pay for the upkeep of the subsidiary forces. The Nizam ceded Bellary and Cuddapah, which came to be known as the Ceded Districts; Mysore gave up Canara and

Coimbatore; Oudh parted with the Doab and Rohilkhand; Bhonsle surrendered Cuttack; and Sindia relinquished Broach.

Furthermore, Wellesley profited by the maladministration prevailing in several states to annex them. The Raja of Tanjore was only a nominal sovereign; and accordingly took but little interest in the welfare of his subjects. Wellesley profited by the death of the Raja to persuade his adopted son to hand over Tanjore to the Company, and to accept a pension in exchange, 1799. With the Nawab of the Carnatic the case was very much the same. But he was not only found fault with because of his misgovernment, but also because of treacherous correspondence with Tippu Sultan. Accordingly, after his death in 1801, Wellesley annexed the Carnatic, and by way of compensation bestowed a pension on the successor of the throne, 1801. In the same way and for the same reasons the small state of Surat was annexed in 1799.

III. SUCCESS OF THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

The Subsidiary System policy was eminently successful in firmly establishing British supremacy in India. It benefited the English by securing for them the acquisition of vast territories. It was also conducive to the welfare of the people of the various territories which were either annexed or placed under British protection. This, we make bold to say, must be admitted by friend and foe alike. To quote the testimony of a foe, Michael Katkoff, a strong upholder of Muscovite policy and therefore not likely to be biassed in favour of England, did not hesitate to write: "In reality the English have been the saviours of India. During whole centuries the history of India presents one continued spectacle of

murder and devastation. The bloody era terminates with the conquest of India by the English, whose rule has been incomparably more mild, human, and just, than all the Governments under which the Hindus have ever lived." [1]

The conclusion therefore which we feel inclined to draw is that the subsidiary system policy was a change for the better. That this change was introduced by the use of means which, so far from being universally approved of, deserved often blame, and have been blamed both by Englishmen and by Indians alike, we are not here concerned in denying.

IV. WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION

But Wellesley was not only a conqueror, he was also an administrator. It is true that his military campaigns absorbed well-nigh all his energies, and made it impossible for him to devote much time to the consideration of local improvements that might benefit the people of the country. Nevertheless such general measures as he took, make it clear that he had the welfare of the people of India at heart. Thus, for example, he cut short the lucrative practice of the military and civil servants of the Company, who were only too eager to lend money to Indian princes at exorbitant rates of interest.[2] He also insisted that all the servants of the Company, who were to hold responsible posts in the subsidiary states or in the English territories, should receive a proper training.[3] Finally he prohibited the sacrificial exposition of children in the waters of the Ganges, and made a preliminary inquiry into the practice of Sati with a view to adopt measures for its suppression.

[1] Quoted by Keene, i. 370. [2] Hutton, 67. [3] *Ibid.* 119-120.

He resigned in 1805, after he had been Governor-General for the period of seven years.

SUMMARY

(Establishment of British supremacy)

A. Subsidiary System :

I. What it means

1. It stands for the policy of interference.

2. This policy had been followed by Clive and Warren Hastings.

3. Wellesley made it the corner-stone of his Indian Policy.

II. General Features

(*See* Summary : The Treaty of Bassein, p. 208)

III. Application of the System

1. Hyderabad : French officers in the army, intrigues with Tippu Sultan. The Nizam accepted the Subsidiary System.

2. Mysore : Tippu Sultan intrigued with French and Afghans, Fourth Mysore War.

3. Oudh : Army was neglected, danger of Afghan invasion. The Nawab yielded.

4. The Marathas refused to accept the Treaty of Bassein ; Second and Third Maratha Wars.

N.B.—Tanjore, the Carnatic, and Surat were annexed on the ground of misgovernment.

IV. Result

1. Establishment of British supremacy.

2. Annexation of the ceded districts, Canara, Coimbatore, the Doab, Rohilkhand, Cuttack and Broach.

3. The welfare of the people.

4. The means used to force the system upon India are not universally approved of.

B. Administration :

1. Forbade the servants of the Company to lend money to Indian princes.

2. Encouraged the training of the servants of the Company.

3. Prohibited child sacrifice.

4. Inquired into the practice of Sati.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the Subsidiary System; mention its main features and indicate its results. (1, 2, 3.)

2. Write a note on Wellesley. (Summary.)

3. What difficulties had Wellesley to face on his arrival in India; and how did he face them, and with what success? (Previous chapter and summary of present chapter.)

No. 5.—LORD CORNWALLIS, SIR GEORGE BARLOW, LORD MINTO, 1805, 1805-1807, 1807-1813

Introduction. Wellesley's resignation in 1805 was brought about by the general discontent which his forward policy had roused among the shareholders of the Company. They were opposed to Wellesley's policy and to the expenditure which it entailed,[1] and were so persistent in clamouring for his recall that they finally won their point. Cornwallis was re-appointed Governor-General, and Wellesley returned home in 1805. The re-appointment of Cornwallis marked a total reversion from Wellesley's policy of interference to the policy of non-intervention. But non-intervention was once more doomed to end in dismal failure, and, as years went by, Time was to prove the great avenger of Wellesley's political principles.

We will consider the events which took place during the administration of Cornwallis, Barlow, and Minto in the light of the non-intervention policy, which each was ordered to follow.

I. LORD CORNWALLIS, 1805

Cornwallis landed in India on 30th July; less than three months later he died at Ghazipur. As soon as he arrived at Calcutta, he made no secret of the change of

[1] Hutton: 144-145.

policy that had been decided upon, and was actually on his way to the upper provinces to make peace with Holkar and with Sindia. Holkar was being hard pressed by General Lake, and had taken refuge with Sindia, who had likewise thrown off his allegiance to the British.

II. SIR GEORGE BARLOW, 1805-1807

1. Reversion of Wellesley's Policy. Barlow closely followed Cornwallis' footsteps. General Lake protested in vain that Holkar was virtually beaten, but the new Governor-General was not to be influenced, and made peace with Holkar and Sindia. Moreover, he ignored the services which the Rajputs had rendered to the English during the Maratha wars, and, in spite of treaty obligations, he bound himself, by a treaty with Holkar, not to oppose the Marathas in Rajputana. In one instance alone did he absolutely refuse to follow the non-intervention policy to the bitter end. He continued steadfastly to refuse the rescission of the treaty of Bassein.[1]

2. Vellore Mutiny. An important event, which happened when he was Governor-General, was the Vellore mutiny, 1806.

(*a*) *Causes.* Orders were given to the sepoys to change their turbans for a new kind of head-dress that was supposed to have the resemblance of a European hat! They were ordered not to wear religious marks on their foreheads, to trim their beards after a certain fashion, and not to wear ear-rings. The local Commander-in-Chief apparently had in view the improvement of martial appearance in the sepoys. But the latter looked upon those measures as an attempt to tamper with their religious convictions. The sepoys

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 609.

thought that they were being forced to embrace Christianity.

(*b*) *Leading Events.* Accordingly they revolted, and killed 113 European members of the garrison. Colonel Gillespie hurried from Arcot to the relief of Vellore, and in the fighting which ensued 400 sepoys were killed.

(*c*) *Results.* Peace was quickly restored; the ring-leaders were punished; others who had played a secondary part were dismissed from service; the members of Tippu Sultan's family, who were suspected of being implicated in the mutiny, were removed to Calcutta; and the Governor of Madras and the local Commander-in-Chief were both recalled to England.[1]

III. LORD MINTO, 1807-1813

1. Introduction. Lord Minto was appointed Governor-General in 1807, and was sent out with instructions to follow the non-intervention policy. But no sooner had he landed in India than it was brought home to him that English prestige in India was being gradually but steadily undermined. He therefore made up his mind to ignore the non-intervention policy. An open declaration on his part to this effect might have cost him his position. Accordingly he adopted a conciliatory policy, and by repeated despatches succeeded in making the authorities at home see eye to eye with him.[2] The result was that Minto's administration was a brilliant vindication of Wellesley's principles. He re-established British supremacy in India by the suppression of anarchy, by the forming of alliances, and by offensive warfare.

2. Suppression of Anarchy. Shortly after he had assumed the reins of government, Minto actively

[1] Keene, i. 321. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 611.

interfered in the affairs of Bundelkhand, where anarchy of the worst description prevailed. Organised bands of robbers were tyrannising over the country. The Governor-General realised that to wipe them out would involve the English in a general Maratha war, which he was anxious to avoid. Accordingly he was satisfied with establishing peace in that part of Bundelkhand which lies south of the Jumna.[1]

Another instance of anarchical display took place in Travancore. The accumulation of arrears of payment for the subsidiary force and the widespread system of maladministration had led the Resident to take energetic measures to remedy these evils. Thereupon the Diwan made an attempt to drive the English out of the State. The religious susceptibilities of the people were cleverly taken advantage of ; a rebellion was organised in which thirty-two British soldiers were treacherously killed. But the rebellion was quickly quelled. The Diwan committed suicide, whilst his brother paid the supreme penalty of the law.[2]

3. The Forming of Alliances. Lord Minto also furthered the cause of British prestige by a number of alliances.

Punjab Mission. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, who was one of the most powerful Sikh princes, intended to extend his sway over the small Sikh states between the Jumna and the Sutlej. But these states appealed to the British for protection ; and accordingly Lord Minto sent Lord Metcalfe on a mission to the Punjab. The ambassador sent by the Governor-General won over the Maharaja by his tact and courtesy; and the result of his mission was a friendly alliance between Ranjit Singh and the English, whilst the

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 614-615. [2] *Ibid.* 615.

smaller Sikh states between the Jumna and the Sutlej were placed under British protection.[1]

Persian Mission. Napoleon had sent a mission to Persia in order to win over the Shah, so that he might make use of him to cause trouble to the English in their colonies. To counteract Napoleon's move, Minto despatched a mission to Persia. But the mission was not successful, for the Home Government had on its own account sent out a royal embassy to Persia; and, though this embassy was sent out to Persia for the same purpose for which the mission from India had been sent, the two rival British legations quarrelled with each other; and Malcolm, who had been sent by Minto, returned to Calcutta without having achieved anything. This comedy ended rather tragically when India had to pay the bill of the two embassies.[2]

Kabul Mission. The Kabul mission was sent with the object of forming an alliance with the ruler of Afghanistan in order to protect the possessions of the Company from the dangers of a North-Western invasion. This mission ended in failure, and, owing to the civil strife prevailing in the country, came back without having even reached its destination.[3]

4. Offensive Warfare. England was at war with France during Lord Minto's administration and the English took advantage of this war to extend their colonial possessions; they captured a number of French islands on the east coast of Africa, and also occupied Java. Now, Lord Minto lent effective and active support to the Home Government in the carrying out of their policy of territorial aggrandisement, and he even accompanied the Java expedition. When the

[1] Griffin, 175-176.
[2] Keene, i. 328. [3] *Ibid.* 327.

expedition returned, the Governor-General learned the news that he had been superseded, and that the Earl of Moira, better known as the Marquis of Hastings, had been appointed his successor.

5. Other Events. *Madras Mutiny.* During Lord Minto's administration an attempt was made to suppress the allowance granted to the officers in order to provide for tent-furniture. This led to a mutiny among them, which, however, did not come to anything as the timely and tactful interference of the Governor-General put an end to the mutinous officers' discontent.

Ryotwari System. It was also during Lord Minto's Administration that Sir Thomas Munro adopted the ryotwari system as the revenue system of the Madras Presidency.

The Act of 1813. Finally, towards the end of Minto's tenure of office, Parliament made a further encroachment upon the rights of the Company. When renewing the Charter in 1813, the Act of 1813 left the Company in actual possession of all Indian territories, but at the same time asserted the sovereignty of the Crown over the Company's territories ; [1] so that the Crown and the Company practically became joint possessors. The immediate result was that the Company lost the monopoly of trade with India, and that trade with India was thrown open to the whole nation.

GENERAL SUMMARY

The Non-Intervention Policy

I. Occasion

According to Pitt's India Bill the Governor-General could not engage in offensive warfare.

[1] *Report on Ind. Const. Ref.*, 1918, 18.

II. What it means

1. It stood for the "let alone" policy.

2. It was opposed to territorial aggrandisement, and to interference in the affairs of the Indian princes.

3. It was satisfied with preserving the balance of power among the Indian princes, thus to safeguard British power.

III. Inadequacy of the Policy

It was impossible to carry out this policy of non-interference and at the same time keep the balance of power undisturbed, thus safeguarding British power.

IV. Instances of Inadequacy

A. First Trial: (1) Cornwallis maintained the balance of power among the Indian princes, and waged the Third Mysore War, 1786-93. (2) Shore did not interfere in the affairs of Indian princes, and the balance of power among them was disturbed by the Marathas and by Tippu Sultan to the great detriment of British power, 1793-98.

B. Second Trial: (1) Cornwallis came to carry out the non-intervention policy, but died after three months, 1805. (2) Barlow followed the non-intervention policy, but failed to maintain the balance of power among the Indian princes, and the Marathas overran Rajputana. (3) Minto determined to maintain the balance of power among Indian princes and to safeguard British power; he put down anarchy in Bundelkhand, suppressed a rebellion in Travancore, made an alliance with Ranjit Singh, established a British protectorate over the Sikh states, and tried to make alliances with Afghanistan and Persia.

N.B.—In his case non-interference ended in interference with a vengeance.

V. Results

1. Some Governors failed to maintain the balance of power among Indian princes to the detriment of British power.

2. Other Governors maintained the balance of power among Indian princes and safeguarded British power, in which case non-interference ended in interference.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on the administration of Barlow. (II.)

2. Sketch the political career of Lord Minto. (III.)

3. What is meant by the non-intervention policy, and what became of it? (General Summary.)

No. 6.—THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1813-1823

Plan

1. Change of policy.
2. Features of the policy of the Marquis of Hastings.
3. Results of the Policy of the Marquis of Hastings.

I. CHANGE OF POLICY

Causes. The non-intervention policy was abandoned for a policy of active interference, because the experience of the past told so heavily against it. Thus for example, when the Marquis of Hastings became Governor-General, Rajputana was the scene of civil and fratricidal wars; the Gurkhas had encroached upon Oudh; and the Marathas were bent upon casting off the British yoke, whilst in Central India the Pindaris were openly carrying out their nefarious and depredatory excursions. The result was that British power was threatened by enemies who were steadily growing in number and strength, and the country was, on the whole, in a state of ferment and unrest strangely opposed to the beneficial influences of peace and comfort, which had been wrongly and foolishly hoped for as the fruit of the non-intervention policy. Accordingly the non-intervention policy was finally abandoned, and Wellesley's forward policy of interference became once more the guiding principle of British statesmen in the administration of Indian affairs.

II. FEATURES OF THE POLICY OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS

Plan. The Marquis of Hastings set to work to confirm British supremacy in India by waging offensive wars, suppressing anarchy, and forming alliances with Indian princes.

1. Offensive Wars. Whilst he was Governor-General two important wars were fought, one with the Nepalese or Gurkhas, the other with the Marathas.

A. The Fourth Maratha War, 1817-1818, has already been dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient for our purpose to mention that the combined attempt of the Maratha princes to regain their independence was entirely frustrated. The Peshwa was deposed ; Appa Sahib sought safety in flight, whilst the new ruler of Nagpur, and Holkar, and Sindia subscribed to the Subsidiary System.

B. The Nepalese War, 1814-1816. Another important war, fought during the administration of the the Marquis of Hastings, was the First Nepalese War.

(*a*) *Causes.* The valley to the south of the Himalayas had become the home of a warlike race called the Gurkhas. These men took advantage of the non-intervention policy [1] to make inroads into British territory, and between the years 1719 and 1813 they had forcibly occupied no less than two hundred villages.[2] This aggressive policy reached its height when, during the absence from India of Lord Minto who had joined the Java expedition, the Gurkhas occupied large territories in the State of Oudh. As soon as the Marquis of Hastings had become Governor-General, he insisted on an immediate cession by the Gurkhas of every inch of British territory. When this request was not complied with, war was declared.

(*b*) *Leading Events.* The British forces were divided into four expeditionary units, and invaded Nepal from four different points. One column marched from the Sutlej which forms the western border of Nepal, another column advanced on the capital, Khatmandu, from the

[1] Ross of Bladensburg, 57-68. [2] Sinclair, 234.

east, and the two remaining columns marched from the south to the north between the western and eastern points of attack. Three of the attacking columns met with defeat, but General Ochterlony, advancing from the western borders, retrieved the losses of the British arms.

As he advanced, he carried one stronghold after another, till he reached at last the hill-fortress of Malaon. During the first attack the British troops succeeded in driving back the defenders and occupying their outposts. Thereupon Amar Singh, the commander of the fortress, entered into negotiations with the besiegers, and surrendered the city on the condition that he and his soldiers should be allowed to march out with the honours of war. After the capture of Malaon, Ochterlony marched towards Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal, and defeated the Gurkhas at Magwampar within five marches of the capital.[1] Thereupon the Gurkhas realised that before long their capital was doomed to fall into the hands of their enemies, and so sued for peace.

(c) *Results*. By the treaty of Segauli the British obtained possession of the districts between the Jumna and the Sutlej, including the now famous hill-stations of Simla, Mussoorie and Naini Tal. Besides this, the Gurkhas consented to receive a British Resident.

2. Suppression of Anarchy. *The Pindaris*. Bundelkhand was overrun with brigands. The non-intervention policy had resulted in increasing their numbers to such an extent that there were more than 50,000 of these robbers when the Marquis of Hastings landed in India. They were called Pindaris, and plundering and robbery was their only occupation. The Marquis of

[1] Ross of Bladensburg, 78-80.

Hastings was determined to put an end to these robber bands.

For this purpose he called upon every available soldier, and distributed his forces in such a way as little by little entirely to encircle the Pindaris.[1] When the encircling movement was completed the English armies began slowly to advance, so as gradually to diminish the area in which the Pindaris found themselves helplessly enclosed. Some gangs tried to break through the encircling cordon, but were beaten back and suffered heavily; others fled, took refuge in the jungle, and perished miserably; others still threw themselves upon the mercy of the villagers, who mercilessly punished them for their past misdeeds. The result was that in the space of four years, 1815-1819, the Pindaris were practically extirpated.

3. The Forming of Alliances. The Marquis of Hastings also displayed considerable diplomatic skill in the arranging of alliances with various Indian princes. He was first of all responsible for the subsidiary treaties by which Holkar, Sindia and the new Raja of Nagpur acknowledged the British as their overlords. Similar treaties were made with the Chiefs of Rajputana. Thus it came about that by the end of Hastings' administration the most powerful of the Indian princes had become the friends and allies of the British, who were now the real rulers of India.

III. RESULTS OF THE POLICY OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS

When the Marquis of Hastings landed in India, the country was in a general state of unrest, and it could hardly be said that the British held in undisputed sway

[1] Sinclair, 228-229.

the conquests which they had made. But, with the advent of the Marquis of Hastings, the dark clouds that loomed on the political horizon lifted. The aggressiveness of the Gurkha was overcome ; the combination of the Maratha forces was crushed ; the predatory hordes of Pindaris were extirpated ; in a word, all the independent princes, who might have been capable of impairing British supremacy, were conquered. Moreover, the Rajput princes placed themselves under British protection, so that the English became, during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, the real rulers of India. As an example of the relentless energy, displayed by the Marquis of Hastings, it may be mentioned by way of conclusion that during his tenure of office twenty-eight battles were fought in the field, one hundred and twenty forts were captured, and nineteen treaties were made with Indian princes.

SUMMARY

(Establishment of British supremacy)

I. Intervention Policy

1. The Marathas wanted to get rid of the Treaty of Bassein, Fourth Maratha War (Peshwa deposed, Holkar, and Sindia, and Bhonsle feudatory princes).
2. The Rajput princes placed under British protection.
3. He defeated the Gurkhas who were making encroachments upon British territory.

II. Suppression of Anarchy

He defeated and suppressed the Pindaris.

III. Alliances

With the Maratha Princes and with the Rajputs.

IV. Results

The English became the real rulers of India.

QUESTIONS

1. What difficulties had the Marquis of Hastings to face, and how did he overcome them ? (I.)

2. Contrast the policy of his three predecessors with that of the Marquis of Hastings. (Previous and present Summary.)

3. Show that it may rightly be said that the Marquis of Hastings completed the work begun by Wellesley. (II, III.)

4. Write a note on the results of the policy of the Marquis of Hastings. (III.)

5. Write a short biographical sketch of the Marquis of Hastings. (Summary.)

No. 7.—BURMESE, AFGHAN AND SIKH WARS

Introduction. After the Marquis of Hastings had firmly established British supremacy in India, his successors addressed themselves to the task of consolidating and completing England's conquest of India. This brought them into warlike operations with the Burmese, the Sikhs and the Afghans. The history of these wars is gathered together in one chapter so as to give the student a comprehensive view of the matter.

I. BURMESE WARS

A. The First Burmese War, 1824-1826

1. Causes. British territories were bordered on the eastern side by the kingdom of Burma. This close proximity was not productive of cordial relations. First of all the King of Burma resented it that Arakanese fugitives should find a safe refuge in British territory.[1] Next, collisions took place between the soldiers of the Company and those of the Burmese army, and, when the island of Shuparu, situated close to the southern end of Chittagong, was forcibly occupied by Burmese troops, several sepoys in the service of the Company were killed.

[1] Thackeray Ritchie, 71-74.

Finally the ruler of Burma ordered his General, Maha Bandula, to expel the British from Bengal, and to bring back to the court of Ava the Governor-General bound in golden chains expressly supplied for the purpose.[1] Thus the Governor-General, Lord Amherst had perforce to declare war.

2. Leading Events. Lord Amherst decided to carry on military operations by land and by sea. First of all an expeditionary force was sent into Assam, and occupied Manipur. At the same time a fleet and an army were despatched from Madras, joining the Bengal contingent at the Andamans. The combined fleets sailed for Rangoon, but, on landing, found that the town had been deserted by the Burmese troops.

When the King of Burma heard of the landing of the British expeditionary force, he recalled Maha Bandula from the northern theatre of war, and sent him at the head of an army of 60,000 men to expel the invaders. Maha Bandula occupied Rangoon, and fortified it by means of stockades, which were, however, easily demolished by the English. Thereupon he retreated to Donabew, followed by the British troops. There he succeeded so skilfully in entrenching himself that a first British attack was easily repulsed. Donabew was, however, captured before long. By a lucky chance a stray shot killed Maha Bandula, and his soldiers, appalled at the sudden death of their leader, became panic-stricken and fled.

The capture of Donabew was followed by that of Prome. Moreover, in a skirmish at Pagan, 2,000 British troops defeated 18,000 Burmese. This succession of disasters brought the King of Burma to a more reasonable frame of mind, and in 1826 he sued for peace.

[1] Sinclair, 236.

3. Results. Peace was signed at Yendabo. Arakan, Tenasserim and Assam were ceded to the English; and the king consented to pay a war indemnity of one million pounds.

B. The Second Burmese War, 1852

1. Causes. The chief cause of the Second Burmese War was Lord Dalhousie's determination to follow a policy of territorial aggrandisement. It was occasioned by the ill-treatment of British merchants at Rangoon, and the refusal, on the part of the Burmese, to comply with the request made by the English in order to obtain reparation for these insults.

2. Leading Events. A fleet was equipped, and set sail for Rangoon with a large landing-force. This town was first blockaded, and afterwards stormed and captured. Next Bassein and Prome fell into the hands of the British, who in an incredibly short time occupied the whole of Pegu, while the Burmese forces retreated into Upper Burma. The Home authorities were eager to fight to the bitter end, so as to subjugate the whole of Burma. But Dalhousie was satisfied with the brilliant victories which had been so easily won by the British, and, as there were no longer any Burmese troops in Pegu, there was no further occasion for the continuation of military operations.

3. Results. At the end of the war Pegu was annexed by the British.

C. Third Burmese War, 1885

1. Causes. After the First and Second Burmese Wars the relations between the King of Burma and the British Government were decidedly lacking in cordiality; and in 1885 Theebaw, King of Burma, concluded a commercial alliance with France, and granted French

merchants privileges highly detrimental to their English rivals. This was the real cause of the war, but actually it originated in a dispute between the Bombay and Burma Trading Company and King Theebaw. Lord Dufferin took advantage of this, and threatened to declare war, unless the case was satisfactorily settled. As Theebaw did not comply with the Viceregal ultimatum, war was declared.[1]

2. Leading Events. The Indian army crossed into Upper Burma, and less than a fortnight later captured Mandalay; thereupon King Theebaw surrendered to the English.

3. Results. Upper Burma was annexed; and King Theebaw and his family were deported to India.

SUMMARY

I. First Burmese War (Amherst), 1824-1826

A. Causes

1. Close proximity of Burma and Bengal.
2. The Arakanese fugitives.
3. Collisions between soldiers.
4. Burmese designs upon Bengal.

B. Events

1. Occupation of Assam and Manipur.
2. Landing at Rangoon.
3. Victory at Donabew, Maha Bandula killed.
4. Victory at Pagan.

C. Results

Cession of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim.

II. Second Burmese War (Dalhousie), 1852

A. Causes

1. Dalhousie's policy.
2. Ill-treatment of British merchants.

[1] Sinclair, 294-295.

B. Events

1. Capture of Rangoon, Prome, and Bassein.
2. Occupation of Pegu.

C. Results

Annexation of Pegu.

III. Third Burmese War (Dufferin), 1885

A. Causes

1. Alliance with France.
2. Dispute with the Bombay-Burma Trading Company.

B. Events

1. Capture of Mandalay.
2. Surrender of the King.

C. Results

1. Upper Burma annexed.
2. The royal family deported to India.

II. THE AFGHAN WARS

Introduction. The existence of strained relations between England and Russia in connection with their policy of colonial expansion in Asia constitutes what is called the *Eastern Question in Central Asia.*[1] English statesmen have always viewed with distrust Russia's steady advance towards Afghanistan and India; and it was their eagerness to put a check to Russian colonial designs that led to the first two Afghan wars.

A. The First Afghan War, 1838-1842

1. Causes. In 1835 the Shah of Persia, at the instigation of Russia, laid siege to Herat, the gateway into Afghanistan, by which passes the trade-route from Persia into India. Accordingly the Home authorities feared that Russian influence would become supreme in

[1] Guggenberger, iii. 409-414.

Afghanistan.[1] Furthermore, there were in Afghanistan two rival claimants to the throne, Dost Muhammad and Shah Shuja; and about that time Dost Muhammad had defeated his opponent, and was in possession of the throne of Afghanistan.[2] As the British refused to help him to gain possession of Peshawar, which Ranjit Singh had annexed, Dost Muhammad turned towards Russia.[3] Thereupon Lord Auckland entered into an alliance with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and with Shah Shuja for the purpose of deposing Dost Muhammad and placing Shah Shuja on the throne of Afghanistan.

2. Leading Events. The British forces marched into Afghanistan and occupied Kandahar. Shah Shuja was proclaimed Amir, and solemnly installed on the throne of Afghanistan. The occupation of Kandahar was followed by that of Ghazni and Kabul. Thereupon Dost Muhammad surrendered himself to the English, and was deported to Calcutta. When the English had thus attained their object, the bulk of the British troops was withdrawn from Afghan soil.

But Shah Shuja was not popular with the Afghans; and Akbar Khan, the eldest son of Dost Muhammad, took advantage of the withdrawal of the English troops to start a revolution. The Political Agent was murdered, Shah Shuja suffered the same fate, and the British force had to beat a disastrous retreat. They were harassed by Afghans who shot them down from the tops of the hills; and one man alone, Dr. Brydon, succeeded in reaching Jalalabad with the news of the dreadful disaster that had overtaken his countrymen.[4]

The total extermination of the army led to the recall of Lord Auckland and to the appointment of Lord

[1] Trotter, *Auckland*, 56.
[2] *Ibid.* 142.
[3] Keene, ii. 135.
[4] *Ibid.* 153-156.

Ellenborough. The new Governor-General allowed Generals Nott and Pollock a free hand in dealing with the situation. Kabul was recaptured, and part of the city was destroyed by way of reprisal. Then the British forces withdrew from the Afghan " hornets' nest."

Results. Thus it came about that the First Afghan War was nothing but a reckless sacrifice of money and men ; for by a strange irony of fate the English afterwards agreed to Dost Muhammad's resuming the throne of Afghanistan.

B. The Second Afghan War, 1878-1880

1. Causes. In 1876 the English occupied Quetta, giving them full control over the famous Bolan Pass, and dominating the road to Kandahar, so that the direct routes to Kabul lost much of their strategic importance.[1] The Amir therefore regarded the occupation of Quetta as a direct attempt on the part of the English to bring him into their own power. Accordingly he turned towards Russia, received a Russian envoy, but absolutely refused to extend the same courtesy to the English, with the result that Lord Lytton declared war.[2]

2. Leading Events. The English were at first entirely successful. They advanced into Afghanistan, and occupied Jalalabad and Kandahar, whilst the Amir fled into Russian territory, whence he was destined no more to return.[3] Yakub Khan, his son and successor, signed the treaty of Gandamuk, by which he agreed to receive a permanent British Resident at his court.

But shortly afterwards Sir Louis Cavegnari, who was appointed British Resident, was murdered at Kabul together with his escort. The British forces that were

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 752. [2] *Ibid.* 751-752. [3] Keene, ii. 296.

still in Afghanistan, under the able command of Generals Stewarts and Roberts, immediately concentrated on Kabul which they re-occupied. Yakub Khan surrendered to the English, was deposed, and became a State-prisoner.

But further complications arose. Yakub Khan's brother, Ayub Khan, rose in arms against the British, defeated General Burrows at Maiwand, and pursued the brigade, which had lost half its personnel, to Kandahar, which he besieged.[1] Then General Roberts made his celebrated forced march from Kabul to Kandahar, covered more than 300 miles in the short space of three weeks, and relieved the besieged city.

Meanwhile the resignation of the Ministry at home led to the resignation of Lord Lytton. He was succeeded by Lord Ripon, who was sent out with instructions to bring the Afghan War to a speedy conclusion. A grandson of Dost Muhammad, named Abdhur Rahman, was ultimately recognised by the English as Amir ; and Afghanistan, with the inclusion of Kandahar, was definitely evacuated by the British forces.

3. Results. The English retained Quetta, and, though they evacuated Afghanistan, they left behind them a strong impression that the rulers of England would never tolerate the establishment and exercise of political control by Russia over Afghanistan.

SUMMARY

First Afghan War (Auckland-Ellenborough), 1838-1842

A. Causes

1. Russian influence in Persia.
2. Siege of Herat.
3. Dost Muhammad favourably inclined towards Russia.
4. Alliance among the British, Shah Shuja, and Ranjit Singh.

[1] Sinclair, 292.

B. Events

1. Kandahar, Kabul, and Ghazni captured.
2. Muhammad surrendered, Shah Shuja made Amir.
3. The British Agent murdered, and the army of occupation massacred.
4. Generals Nott and Pollock re-occupy Kabul.

C. Results

1. Dost Muhammad restored to the throne.
2. Useless loss of men and money.

Second Afghan War (Lytton-Ripon), 1878-1880

A. Causes

1. Occupation of Quetta.
2. The Amir made friends with Russia.

B. Events

1. Defeat and flight of the Amir.
2. Yakub Khan became Amir.
3. British Resident massacred.
4. Capture of Kabul, surrender of Yakub.
5. Ayub Khan's rebellion, siege of Kandahar.
6. Roberts relieved Kandahar.

C. Results

1. British Evacuation.
2. Abdhur Rahman became Amir.
3. English influence maintained.

III. THE SIKH WARS

Introduction. The Sikhs were originally a religious sect [1] founded towards the end of the fifteenth century by Guru Nanak. As years went by, the followers of the new doctrine had to suffer cruel oppression at the hands of the Muhammadan rulers of the Moghul Empire. The result was that they steadily developed warlike dispositions,[2] and were subjected to fresh and fierce

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 453. [2] Sinclair, 220.

persecutions. During Aurangzeb's reign they were harassed to such an extent that they would have been entirely exterminated but for that Emperor's death in 1707.

Shortly afterwards their leader Banda took advantage of the break-up of the Moghul Empire to avenge by fearful atrocities the long persecution which his followers had suffered at the hands of their Moghul oppressors. They destroyed mosques, slew priests, sacked towns, and massacred their population. Such were their excesses that the Emperor, Bahadur Shah, singled them out among his many rebellious subjects for punitive action.[1] He proceeded against them in person, and succeeded in defeating them. Many were killed, and those who escaped with their lives fled to the fastnesses of the Punjab. There they lived in separate bodies, under local chieftains, and for the time being the Sikh commonwealth ceased to exist.

But in the beginning of the nineteenth century Maharaja Ranjit Singh again united the Sikhs into a great nation, and established his authority over the whole of the Punjab. He was determined to extend his kingdom south of the Sutlej, where there were a number of smaller Sikh states; but the latter applied to the English for help. Accordingly Lord Minto sent Lord Metcalfe to the court of Ranjit Singh; and the British envoy acquitted himself of his mission with such consummate skill that Ranjit Singh became a most loyal friend and ally of the English. As long as Maharaja Ranjit Singh ruled over the Sikhs, they were a strong and powerful nation.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 455.

A. The First Sikh War, 1845-1846

1. Causes. After the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 the Punjab found itself at the mercy of an army numbering eighty-eight thousand trained soldiers, for whom the country had no use, and whom the Sikh Council of State could not control.[1] Accordingly the Sikh rulers, in order to get rid of them, encouraged them to invade British territories, not with the aim of making conquests, but in order that they might be destroyed in India.[2]

2. Leading Events. It was during the administration of Lord Hardinge that the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej. They advanced to Mudki, where the first battle was fought, 18th December, 1845. The English forces, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, just managed to defeat the Sikhs, who retreated to Ferozeshah, situated at a distance of twelve miles from the Sutlej. Three days later Sir Hugh Gough attacked them in their entrenchments at Ferozeshah, and defeated them a second time.

The English were, however, unable to follow up their double victory, and a month passed before the necessary reinforcements and supplies arrived. The Sikhs profiting by this delay reorganised themselves, and the second phase of the First Sikh War opened with a victory in their favour. They outflanked Sir Henry Smith at Baddiwal and captured the greater part of his baggage. But their triumph was short-lived, for Sir Henry Smith defeated them at Aliwal, 28th January, 1846; and a fortnight later, at Sobraon the English army, after inflicting heavy losses on the Sikh forces, drove them back across the Sutlej.

[1] Hardinge, 70. [2] Keene, ii. 173.

3. Results. By the treaty of Lahore, the Jalandhar Doab between the Bias and the Sutlej was annexed by the English; the Sikh army was reduced to 20,000 infantry, and a British force was stationed at Lahore; moreover the Sikhs had to pay a war indemnity of half a million sterling.

B. The Second Sikh War, 1848-1849

1. Causes. Shortly after Dalhousie's arrival in India the English were once more at war with the Sikhs. Diwan Mulraj, the Governor of Multan, rather than render an account of his administration to the British Resident, preferred to resign his office. Shortly after his resignation two British officers, who had been sent to install a new Governor at Multan, were murdered, whereupon Mulraj at once made himself master of the citadel, and proclaimed a religious war against the English. As soon as Mulraj raised the standard of revolt, he was besieged at Multan. The siege had to be raised, however, because disaffection spread like wildfire through the length and breadth of the Punjab, and such British troops and officers as were in the Punjab hastily withdrew. This temporary evacuation of the Punjab confirmed the Sikhs in their belief that they would be able to conquer the English; and accordingly the latter made extensive preparations for war. In the words of Dalhousie: "the Sikh nation has called for war, and they will have it with a vengeance." [1]

2. Leading Events. The British opened military operations by laying siege to Multan. Mulraj held out with the fearlessness born of despair; but his forces were ultimately overcome, and Multan surrendered. At the same time another British army had come up with

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 698.

the Sikhs at Chilianwala, where the latter fought with great bravery, but were defeated by the British army under General Gough. But this last victory caused general consternation at home, for the British lost more than two thousand officers and men. Accordingly the Home authorities decided to recall General Gough, appointing Sir Charles Napier his successor. But before the orders of the Home authorities reached India, General Gough made good his military reputation by the victory of Gujarat, in which the Sikh army was practically wiped out, and by which the war came to an end.

Results. Lord Dalhousie thereupon declared the Punjab annexed territory; whilst Mulraj was tried, found guilty of the murder of the British officers, and imprisoned for life.

SUMMARY

I. First Sikh War (Hardinge), 1845-1846

A. Causes

The Sikh rulers in order to get rid of their turbulent soldiers sent them to attack the English.

B. Leading Events

The Sikhs defeated at Mudki, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon.

C. Results

Annexation of the Jalandhar Doab.

II. Second Sikh War (Dalhousie), 1848-49

A. Causes

1. Murder of two British officers at the instigation of Mulraj.

B. Leading Events

1. Capture of Multan.
2. Costly English victory at Chilianwala.
3. Decisive victory of Gujarat.

C. Results

Annexation of the Punjab.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on the conquest of Burma. (Summary.)

2. Give the causes, leading events, and results of each of the Burmese Wars. (Summary.)

3. Write a note on the Eastern Question in Central Asia ; or, What brought about British interference in Afghan Affairs ? (II. Introduction.)

4. Give a summary of the First and the Second Afghan Wars. (Summary.)

5. Contrast the results of the First and Second Afghan Wars. (II. A. 3 ; B. 3).

6. Write a brief note on the Sikhs from the beginning of their history to the rise to power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. (III. Introduction.)

7. Write a note on Maharaja Ranjit Singh. (III. Introduction.)

8. Write a short Summary on the conquest of the Punjab. (Summary.)

9. Give the causes, leading events, and results of the First and Second Sikh Wars. (Summary.)

No. 8.—LORD AMHERST, 1823-1828

Plan

1. Burma. 2. Bhurtpur.

I. BURMA

When the Marquis of Hastings retired from office British supremacy was firmly established. He was succeeded by Lord Amherst during whose administration the King of Burma's attempt to drive the English from Bengal led to the First Burmese War. The Burmese armies were defeated in the north and in the south. Assam and Manipur were occupied. Rangoon was captured, and Bandula, the Burmese Commander-in-Chief, was killed at Donabew. The capture of

Prome and the victory of Pagan put an end to the pretensions of the Burmese. Peace was signed at Yendabo; and Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed by the English.

II. BHURTPORE

The Burmese had directly challenged English supremacy. Shortly afterwards there occurred in the Jat state of Bhurtpore an event which constituted an indirect menace to that same supremacy, 1825.

1. Causes of the War. Sir David Ochterlony of Nepal fame was the Governor-General's Agent in Bhurtpore. Now it happened that the ruler of the Jat state died, and that his son, the rightful heir to the throne, as yet a minor, was imprisoned by the late chief's brother, who claimed the throne for himself. Ochterlony realised that if such a course of proceeding were tolerated, similar attempts would be made in other states. Accordingly he forthwith made a strong military display, and threatened the usurper with immediate punishment if he should continue to violate the rights of the infant prince.

It is highly probable that Ochterlony's threats would have brought the usurper to his senses. But the Governor-General with a strange lack of common-sense severely reprimanded the British Resident, and countermanded the military measures already taken by him.[1] Thereupon Ochterlony resigned, and the usurper, emboldened by this display of weakness on the part of the Government, openly flouted their authority, and defied the English to deprive him of his throne. At last, however, Lord Amherst realised that he had made a mistake, and declared war.

[1] Keene, ii. 79.

2. Leading Events. The Bhurtpore War is but the history of the siege of the city, which was considered an almost impregnable fortress. The Jats put up a valiant defence, but after a month's siege the fortress was captured, 17th January, 1826. The siege of Bhurtpore claimed many victims. The casualties among the Jats amounted to about 14,000 killed and wounded ; whilst the English had about 1,000 casualties.

3. Results. The usurper was made a state-prisoner in British territory, the rightful heir ascended the throne, and peace was restored.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Lord Amherst's administration. (I, II.)

2. Write a short note on Ochterlony, mentioning the part he played in the Nepalese War, and how he tried to avert the war with Bhurtpore. (II.)

No. 9.—LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828-1835

Introduction. It has been said that "while the administration of the Marquis of Hastings was marked by the triumphs of war, that of Lord William Bentinck will always be remembered for the triumphs of peace." This makes it plain that Bentinck's work in India was a work of consolidation. He followed a policy that was calculated to bring home to the people of India that their new rulers did not mean to oppress them, but to ameliorate their lot.

Plan

1. Social Reforms.
2. Administrative Reforms.
3. Educational Reforms.
4. Annexation of Coorg and Mysore.

I. SOCIAL REFORMS

1. Abolition of Sati. Foremost among his social reforms ranks the abolition of Sati. The practice of widow-burning had been in force for centuries. Exact figures relating to the number of Satis are not available; but this number must have risen into thousands and tens of thousands.[1] The suppression of this evil had often been devoutly wished for in the past, but had never been attempted, because of the disturbing effect that such a suppression might produce.

Shortly after his arrival, Lord Bentinck took measures to ascertain the feelings of the Bengal army, and when it was found out that the likelihood of a sepoy rising was only a remote danger, he felt assured that he could confidently approach the question of its suppression. He was further encouraged by the unanimous verdict of the judges of the Nizamat Adalat, the highest criminal court, that Sati could and should be permanently suppressed.[2] Accordingly he passed a law by which the Sati was made a crime of culpable homicide, while those who encouraged it and had a share in it could be punished as murderers.

2. Suppression of Thugs. Another crying evil was the wholesale campaign of robbery and murder carried out by the Thugs. The Thugs were robbers and murderers, and formed what may perhaps be best described as a brotherhood of highwaymen, bound together by family ties, weird and superstitious quasi-religious rites, and the love of illicit gain.

Their mode of proceeding was the following. One or more Thugs, disguised as inoffensive merchants, would

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 665. [2] Boulger, 89.

join a batch of unsuspecting travellers. For days together the murderers and their victims would travel in company, the former laying themselves out to conciliate the latter by their cheerfulness and readiness to oblige. Thus the game would be carried on, till at last the travellers had been lulled into perfect security. Then the Thug would suddenly reveal himself, and strangle his victim by means of a scarf used as a noose.[1] There is no official report of the number of murders committed by the Thugs, but the greatness of this number may be easily gauged from the fact that one single Thug confessed that he had had a share in the murder of 719 persons.[2]

Lord Bentinck entrusted Major Sleeman with the extermination of the Thugs. The work took him almost seven years; and from 1831 to 1837 more than 3,000 Thugs were dealt with. So effectively was the task performed, that when Lord Bentinck retired, the Thugs had ceased to terrorise India.

3. Other Social Reforms. Besides the abolition of Sati and the suppression of the Thugs, Lord Bentinck raised the social standing of the sepoys by increasing their pay after a certain number of years of service and by suppressing the punishment of flogging.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Lord Bentinck also introduced many salutary administrative reforms. First of all it was during Bentinck's administration that Indians became eligible to public offices and appointments; for he realised that it was unfair to the Indians that public offices should be exclusively reserved for Englishmen. Moreover, the cost of a purely English administration was simply

[1] Boulger 69-71. [2] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 662.

prohibitive, and rendered the employment of Indians imperative.

The opening of the Public Service to Indians was but a part of his general policy of financial retrenchment by which he was able to turn a heavy deficit into a surplus of one crore and a half of rupees. Other instances of the same policy were the reduction of allowances of officials in the civil or military service of the Company, the examination of the title-deeds of Indians who claimed exemption from paying revenue, and the revenue settlement of the North-West Provinces, by which these provinces were permanently excluded from the Permanent Settlement Revenue System, which was already then seriously affecting Indian revenue in Bengal.

III. EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Equal in importance to his administrative reforms are Lord Bentinck's educational reforms. After Indians had become eligible to the public service, it became imperative to provide them with the necessary educational equipment; for, unless educational establishments were opened for them, the majority of the Indians would never be able to take advantage of the opportunities offered them.

On that occasion a battle royal was fought between the Orientalists, who were the champions of Sanskrit and Arabic, and the Anglicists, who were anxious to introduce English. The latter, owing to Macaulay's masterly pleadings, won the day, and the English language was formally adopted as the medium of instruction in public schools and colleges. Nor can it be denied that in the course of years the English language has become the bond of union, not only

between the ruling power and the subjects, but also between all educated Indians; for English is now a kind of *lingua franca*, by means of which educated Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, Tamilians, Marathas, Gujaratis and Bengalis can freely communicate.

IV. ANNEXATION OF COORG AND MYSORE

Though the administration of Lord Bentinck was free from wars, this does not mean that he followed the non-intervention policy. On the contrary he certainly interfered in the affairs of Indian princes, as is seen by the annexation of Coorg and Mysore. In Mysore the ruling Raja exploited his subjects to such an extent that the latter actually rose in arms against him. The English quelled the rebellion, and restored order, and at the same time the country was annexed, while by way of consolation the Raja was given a liberal allowance. In Coorg the ruler seemed to delight in shedding the blood of his subjects; he murdered all his male relatives and took but little account of the lives of his subjects. Accordingly the Governor-General remonstrated with him; but, as the ruler of Coorg made bold to ignore the protest, he was deposed by the English. As all the male relatives had been foully put to death, there was no heir to the throne, and so Coorg was annexed in 1834.

SUMMARY

Consolidation of British power)

I. Social Reforms

1. Abolition of Sati—Sati was made a crime of culpable homicide, and those who encouraged it could be prosecuted as murderers.
2. Suppression of the Thugs—exterminated by Sleeman.
3. Increased the pay of the sepoys, and suppressed flogging.

II. Administrative Reforms

1. Opened the Public Service to Indians.

2. Policy of financial retrenchment: by opening the Public Service to Indians; by reducing the allowances granted to officials; by investigating the title-deeds of those who claimed exemption from paying revenue; by excluding the North-West Provinces from the Permanent Revenue Settlement.

III. Educational Reforms

1. Establishment of Educational Institutions.

2. The English language became the medium of instruction in schools.

N.B.—Annexation of Coorg and Mysore.

QUESTIONS

1. Prove the statement that Lord Bentinck conferred on India the blessings of peace. (Summary.)

2. Give the social, administrative, and educational reforms introduced by Lord Bentinck. (Summary.)

3. Write a note on Bentinck's financial policy. (II.)

4. Write a note on the annexation of Mysore and Coorg. (III.)

5. Write a short biographical sketch of Lord Bentinck. (Summary.)

No. 10.—LORD AUCKLAND, LORD ELLENBOROUGH, LORD HARDINGE, 1836-1842, 1842-1844, 1844-1848

Plan. We group together the events which occurred during the next twelve years, because most of these events have already been dealt with in previous chapters, and will be merely alluded to here in a few words. The chief events which occurred between 1836 and 1848 are the following: the First Afghan War, the War with Sind, the affairs of Gwalior, and the First Sikh War. A brief note will be added, by way of conclusion, on the reforms of Lord Hardinge.

I. THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR

The First Afghan War began in 1838, when Lord Auckland was Governor-General, and was brought to a close in 1842, during the administration of Lord Ellenborough. It was the result of the dread in which English Statesmen stood, lest Russian influence should become paramount in Afghanistan. This war, which resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, did not serve any useful purpose. The English made it their object to depose Dost Muhammad and succeeded in doing so ; but, when the war came to a close, the very same Dost Muhammad was reinstated by them on the throne of Afghanistan.

II. THE WAR WITH SIND, 1843

1. Causes. The war with Sind was an outgrowth of the First Afghan War, and was fought during Lord Ellenborough's administration. In spite of treaty obligations the English had made use of the rivers and roads of Sind for purposes of military transport ; this naturally alienated the good will of the Amirs of Sind. Furthermore, after the Afghan contest had come to an end, the English took advantage of the displeasure which the Amirs of Sind had manifested, to accuse them of hostility to the English. Then Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind and was vested with full civil and military authority. His high-handedness and open contempt of all treaty obligations had the desired effect ; he made war inevitable.[1]

2. Leading Events. Sir Charles Napier defeated the forces of the Amirs at Miani and Dabo.

3. Result. After the defeat of the forces of the Amirs, Sind was annexed, and the Amirs were exiled.

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 685.

Outram, who glories in the name of the Bayard of India *sans peur et sans reproche*, went home, and pleaded the cause of the Amirs with the Home authorities. But all his pleadings were spent in vain. The Home authorities, though aware of the injustice that had been done, were of opinion that "the mischief of retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning Sind." [1]

III. AFFAIRS IN GWALIOR

1. Causes of English Interference. After the death of Daulat Rao Sindia in 1827, rival claimants were anxious to secure the regency; for the heir to the throne was a mere lad. Thereupon political unrest spread in the country, and the most disquieting feature of popular agitation and restlessness was the Gwalior army, numbering 40,000 soldiers, whose pay was sadly in arrears. Their number was beyond the requirements of the country, and their growing insubordination was a danger to the peace of the country and the security of British rule. The danger was also enhanced, because there were similar manifestations of military aggressiveness in the neighbouring Punjab, where the Sikh army had grown as turbulent as that of Gwalior. If the two armies should combine and invade British territory, English supremacy would once more seriously be impaired. Accordingly it was decided that an English expedition should be sent to Gwalior,[2] 1843.

2. Leading Events. The opposing forces met at Maharajpur, where the Gwalior soldiers fought with the greatest bravery, but were defeated, and lost all their artillery. On the same day on which the battle of Maharajpur was fought, another division of the Gwalior army was defeated at Paniar. This double defeat

[1] Smith, *O.H.I.*, 685. [2] Keene, ii. 166-167.

disheartened the Gwalior soldiers, and Lord Ellenborough was thus enabled to dictate terms.

3. Results. The Gwalior army was reduced from 40,000 to 9,000, and Gwalior became a feudatory state. Ever since that the princes of the Sindia family have been loyal allies of the British.

IV. THE FIRST SIKH WAR, 1845-1846

The First Sikh War was fought during the administration of Lord Hardinge, the Sikhs being the aggressors. As the army was becoming a positive danger to the peace of the country, the rulers of the Punjab sent their soldiers into British territory not to conquer, but in order to be conquered. And conquered they were ; for the English were victorious at Mudki, Ferozeshah and Sobraon. By the peace of Lahore the Jalandhar Doab was annexed ; a British force was stationed at Lahore ; and the Sikh rulers had to pay an indemnity of half a million sterling.

V. REFORMS OF LORD HARDINGE

Lord Hardinge's administration was also productive of many salutary reforms. In this respect he carried out the work of improvement which Lord Bentinck had begun. He was successful in persuading the feudatory princes to enforce in their dominions the suppression of Sati. He also devoted his administrative energies to the construction of railways, and made a beginning of the great Ganges canal constructed for the purpose of irrigation, and extremely beneficial to agriculture. He also followed Lord Bentinck's policy of financial retrenchment and considerably reduced the British forces. Finally he furthered the cause of education by the announcement that Indians, who had gone through

the Government schools and colleges, would be given preference in the allotment of responsible positions in Government service.

QUESTIONS

Write a note on the administration of (*a*) Lord Auckland, (*b*) Lord Ellenborough, and (*c*) Lord Hardinge.

No. 11.—LORD DALHOUSIE, 1848-1856

Introduction. When Lord Dalhousie landed in India, the great work of building a colonial empire had not only been successfully begun, but, to a large extent, had already been carried out. It was Lord Dalhousie's lot to complete the work of his predecessors.

Plan

1. Conquests.
2. Annexation.
3. Lapse.
4. Administration.
5. Non-Regulation Provinces.

I. CONQUESTS

By conquest is here meant the subjugation of a country by force of arms.

Conquest of the Punjab. Shortly after Dalhousie's arrival in India trouble arose in the Punjab. Two British officers were murdered at the instigation of Mulraj of Multan fame. Multan was captured, and the Sikhs were defeated at Chilianwala and in the battle of Gujarat, where their army was practically wiped out. After the end of the Second Sikh War, the Punjab was annexed.

Conquest of Pegu. Dalhousie likewise took advantage of the ill-treatment of British merchants at Rangoon to

declare war on Burma. Rangoon, Bassein and Prome were captured, and as the Burmese army retreated into Upper Burma, the whole of Pegu was annexed.

II. ANNEXATIONS

By annexation is here meant the deposition of an Indian prince owing to his inability to rule.

Annexation of Oudh. The Government of Oudh had more than once in the past called for British interference. Already in Lord Bentinck's days the Nawab had been threatened with deposition if matters did not improve. Instead of improvement, misgovernment had proceeded from bad to worse. Dalhousie, in pursuance of his general policy of extending British rule, took advantage of this state of prolonged maladministration, deposed the Nawab, and annexed Oudh.

III. LAPSE

By lapse is here meant the annexation of a state by the British, in the case of its ruler dying without a direct heir. In English law a private estate "lapses," or becomes the property of the British Government, if no heir can be traced and if the proprietor has died intestate. Dalhousie applied this principle to the states of native princes, and thus refused to acknowledge their adopted heirs as their successors.

It would, however, be a mistake to believe that Dalhousie was the first to *discover* the doctrine of lapse; for it was a generally recognised principle that an adopted heir could not succeed without the assent of the ruling power. What Dalhousie did was *to apply* the doctrine of lapse, because in his opinion nothing could be more fortunate for the subjects of a native dynasty than to have their allegiance thus transferred to the

British Government. Accordingly during his administration seven states lapsed: Nagpur, Jhansi, Satara, and four smaller ones.

IV. ADMINISTRATION

Dalhousie was not satisfied with pursuing a policy of territorial aggrandisement. He also introduced many salutary reforms. He furthered India's trade and commerce by the building of metalled roads, railways, bridges and canals, by introducing a cheap and uniform rate of postage, and by constructing many thousand miles of telegraph lines. Furthermore, during his administration schools were opened and a Public Works Department as well as a Department of Public Instruction were formally inaugurated.

Dalhousie's administration may therefore be summed up into two words: "aggrandisement and progress."

V. THE NON-REGULATION PROVINCES

When the question arose of establishing British rule in the new territories acquired by Dalhousie, it was deemed expedient not to introduce the system of administration that prevailed elsewhere. Accordingly a new administrative system was devised.

The essential feature of the system was that, unlike the older provinces, Non-Regulation Provinces remained under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council. Next, nearly all administrative powers—judicial and executive, revenue and police—were concentrated in the hands of the District Officer, whose position was akin to that of a Collector, and who was called Deputy Commissioner; the various Deputy Commissioners were under a Chief Commissioner. It was only in the course of time that the Chief Com-

missioner developed into a Lieutenant-Governor, and that a separate judicial department was established.[1]

SUMMARY

Dalhousie

(Completion of British power, 1848-1856.)

I. Conquest

1. Subjugation by force of arms.

2. The Second Sikh War (murder of British officers—Multan, Chilianwala, Gujarat). The Punjab.

3. The Second Burmese War (ill-treatment of British merchants, Rangoon, Bassein, Prome). Pegu.

II. Annexation

1. Deposition of a ruler incapable of ruling properly.

2. The Nawab of Oudh deposed, and Oudh annexed.

III. Lapse

1. Annexation of a State if its ruler died without a direct heir.

2. Nagpur, Jhansi, Satara and four little states lapsed.

IV. Useful Reforms

1. Improved trade and commerce (roads, railways, bridges, canals, telegraph lines, cheap rate of postage).

2. Established Public Works Department and a Department of Public Instruction.

GENERAL SUMMARY

The Policy of Interference

The policy of interference brought about the foundation, organisation, supremacy, consolidation, and completion of British power in India.

I. Foundation

Clive: Foundation of British power, 1744-1767.

1. In Bengal: (*a*) Two wars against Siraj-ud-daulah; (*b*) Treaty of Allahabad.

2. In Southern India: (*a*) Defeat of the French (Arcot); (*b*) Assistance sent to Vizianagram.

[1] Hunter, *Dalhousie*, 184-189.

II. Organisation

A. Warren Hastings, 1772-1785 :

1. He brought the First Maratha War to a successful close (Goddard sent against Nana Farnavis—Salbai).

2. He brought the Second Mysore War to a successful close (Bhonsle bought off ; Pearse and Coote sent from Bengal).

3. He introduced judicial and financial reforms.

B. Cornwallis, 1786-1793 : Introduced financial and judicial reforms, and defeated Tippu Sultan (Third Mysore War).

III. Supremacy

A. Wellesley, 1798-1805 : (*a*) Treaty of Bassein; (*b*) subsidiary system forced upon the Peshwa, Sindia, Bhonsle, Rajputana, Oudh, Hyderabad and Mysore.

B. Marquis of Hastings, 1813-1823 :

1. Fourth Maratha War, the Peshwa deposed, subsidiary system forced upon Bhonsle, Sindia and Holkar.
2. Rajputana under British protection.
3. Suppression of Pindaris.

IV. Consolidation

Bentinck, 1828-1835 :

1. Social Reforms (Sati, Thugs, Sepoys).
2. Administrative Reforms (Public Service).
3. Educational Reforms (English).

V. Completion

Dalhousie, 1848-1856 :

1. Conquest : The Punjab and Pegu.
2. Annexation : Oudh.
3. Lapse : Nagpur, Jhansi, Satara, and four small states.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the terms *conquest*, *annexation*, and *lapse* ? Give examples of each. (I-III.)

2. Give a summary of Lord Dalhousie's administration. (Summary.)

3. Write a note on the policy of interference. (Summary.)

CHAPTER V

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

No. 1.—LORD CANNING, 1856-1858

Plan

1. The Mutiny.
2. Transfer of the Government to the Crown.
3. Parliamentary Encroachments.

I. THE DOWNFALL OF THE COMPANY, OR THE MUTINY OF 1857

1. Causes. The ostensible cause of the mutiny was the introduction of cartridges greased with cow's and pig's fat; so that, when the sepoys were ordered to bite the end off the cartridge, they were filled with dismay, as by doing so they would lose their caste. Accordingly the authorities rescinded the order; but it was all to no purpose, the offensive greased cartridges remained a cause of general discontent, finally manifesting itself in a general rising of all the sepoys.

The question of greased cartridges was not the sole cause, nor the principal cause of the mutiny. There were other causes at work; for greased cartridges account but poorly for a rebellion of such magnitude. What the other causes were it is not easy to say. It is usually observed that Dalhousie's policy of territorial aggrandisement must have been instrumental in causing widespread discontent among the ruling princes. Furthermore, the spread of British rule and the introduction of a new land revenue settlement was a heavy

blow to the privileges of landed proprietors. The result was that the upper classes of Indian society considered themselves very badly used, and exerted their influence to spread unrest among the civil population.[1] This general state of unrest was most likely the determining cause of the mutiny.

2. Leading Events. The sepoys rose against their officers, and bloody massacres were perpetrated at Meerut, Delhi and Cawnpore, whilst Lucknow was fiercely attacked. The English armies little by little quelled the rebellion; Lucknow was relieved, Delhi was besieged and captured, and the rebels were gradually reduced, till at last peace was restored.

II. TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT FROM THE COMPANY TO THE CROWN

When the mutiny had been suppressed, Parliament passed a Bill for the better government of India. This Bill placed India under the direct control of the Crown; and the President of the Board of Control was replaced by the Secretary of State for India—a member of the English Cabinet, who rules India on behalf of the British Parliament.

The Queen's Proclamation. The transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown was officially made known to the princes and peoples of India by the Queen's Proclamation of 1st November 1858. The following were the chief clauses of this proclamation.

1. The Government of India was to be taken over by the Crown.

2. The office of Governor-General was to be replaced by that of Viceroy.

[1] Cunningham, 11.

3. The treaties made by the Company with the Indian princes were to remain in force.

4. All Indians were promised the same rights; their national customs and religious practices were not to be interfered with; and appointments to public offices were to be made according to the qualifications of the candidates. Finally a general pardon and amnesty was promised to all except to such persons found guilty of the murder of British subjects.

III. PARLIAMENTARY ENCROACHMENT UPON THE RIGHTS OF THE COMPANY

By way of summary we give the various stages by which the Company was slowly but steadily deprived of its authority and power.

In 1774. Lord North's Regulating Act marked the beginning of Parliamentary control. The Act appointed the first Governor-General and Council, though future appointments were still left to the Directors.

In 1784. Pitt's India Bill drew a sharp line of demarcation between political affairs and commercial business transactions. The latter remained with the Company, and the former were transferred to a Board of Control. Furthermore, all orders of the Board of Directors required the sanction of the Board of Control; so that Parliament became the practical ruler of the British territories in India.

After 1784. Whenever the charter of the Company had to be renewed, Parliament made a most searching inquiry into the doings of the Company. These inquiries led to the passing of various Acts, of which the following are the most important:

The Act of 1813 asserted that the Company and the

Crown were *joint possessors* of the British territories in India.

The Act of 1833 declared that the Company held its possessions in India *in trust* for the Crown.

The Act of 1853 deprived the Company of the *right of patronage*, that is, the right to appoint its own servants.

The Mutiny. Finally the mutiny swept away the greatest commercial Company known in the history of the world, and in 1858 the administration of India was transferred from the Board of Directors to the Secretary of State for India, a member of the British Cabinet. The Company ceased to exist.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the causes of the Mutiny. (I.)
2. Give the chief clauses of the Queen's Proclamation. (II.)
3. Give a summary of the Parliamentary encroachments upon the rights of the Company. (III.)

No. 2.—FROM LORD CANNING TO LORD NORTHBROOK, 1858-1876

Plan

After the suppression of the Company India was administered by the Crown. The first eighteen years of this period of administration ended with the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria. We will therefore speak in this chapter of the events that occurred during these eighteen years. The plan which naturally suggests itself is to distribute the various events according to the terms of office of the first five Viceroys; and we will deal in succession with the administration of Lord Canning, 1858-1862; Lord Elgin

1862-1863; Sir John Lawrence, 1863-1869; Lord Mayo, 1869-1872; and Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876.

I. LORD CANNING, 1858-1862

1. Work of Pacification. The gruesome horrors of the mutiny and its stern suppression had deeply stirred the country. The distrust with which Indians and Europeans viewed each other was assuming the proportions of a bridgeless abyss, because a certain clique among the European community openly advocated a policy of reprisals.[1] Fortunately Canning realised that reprisals would have been followed by greater discontent, and that discontent would have led to fresh outbreaks of rebellion. Accordingly he adopted a policy of conciliation.

He made an extensive tour all over India, and everywhere held durbars in order to persuade the princes and peoples of India that the promises contained in the Queen's Proclamation would be faithfully kept. On the occasion of these durbars the Indian princes were granted patents of nobility, and the privilege of adopting a successor was once more granted to them. Thus the doctrine of *lapse* came to an end. Its suppression was mainly due to the fact that during the mutiny most of the states ruled by Indian princes had proved exceptionally loyal; so that it was better to have a feudatory prince than an annexed state.

2. Reforms. Canning also introduced various reforms—military, financial, judicial and legislative.

(*a*) *Military Reforms.* He completely reorganised the Indian army (at that time divided into three separate units, one unit for each Presidency), so that the new army consisted of 135,000 Indians and 70,000

[1] Cunningham, 14, 153.

Europeans; of which the latter had charge of nearly all the artillery.

(b) *Financial Reforms.* Financial experts were called to India; and a large saving of expenditure was effected under their guiding control. The deficit of the budget was further made up by the introduction of new taxes.

(c) *Judicial Reforms.* The Indian Penal Code, originally framed by Macaulay, was officially adopted; and High Courts were established at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.

(d) *Legislative Reforms.* Finally under Canning were sown the first seeds of representative institutions, by adopting a system of administrative decentralisation and by associating Indians with the business of legislation. Accordingly provincial legislatures were established under the supreme authority of the Governor-General. The Governor-General's Council was reinforced by additional members, and thus an Imperial Legislative Council was established in addition to the Imperial Executive Council. Finally Government said: "Let us hear what a few Indians of our own choosing have to say about our laws," and so a few Indians were admitted into the Legislative Councils with the express purpose of voicing Indian opinion.[1]

II. LORD ELGIN, 1862-1863

Lord Elgin's administration was cut short by his untimely death one year after he had become Viceroy. During that short period the only important event which calls for special notice is the Sitana Expedition against the Wahhabis. Sitana, situated in the hills north of Peshawar, had become the trysting-place of Muhammadan fanatics, who incited the men of neighbouring

[1] *Report on Indian Constit. Reforms*, 1918, 39-41.

hill-tribes to make common cause against the English. Accordingly an expedition was sent against them. The tribesmen were defeated in the Ambala Pass, and the Wahhabis were driven from their stronghold.[1]

III. SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, 1864-1869

1. War with Bhutan. The Bhutanese were a hill-tribe, living in the mountains that form the northern frontier of Bengal. They at times crossed the borders of Bhutan in order to pay a depredatory visit to their neighbours in Bengal or Assam. Accordingly a British envoy was sent to Bhutan, but, so far from listening to him, the Bhutanese forced him to sign a treaty by which Assam was surrendered to the Bhutanese. As soon as the envoy was safely out of Bhutan, war was declared. Very little fighting took place, as the Bhutanese soon afterwards made their submission. The result of the expedition was the annexation of the Eastern Duars.

2. Sympathetic Attitude towards Indians. There are several instances to show that Sir John Lawrence was anxious to conciliate Indian opinion. First of all, on the occasion of the war with Abyssinia, the military expenses had chiefly been borne by India. Sir John Lawrence earnestly endeavoured to get England to make good the money thus spent. It is true that his efforts were not crowned with success; yet the Viceroy's way of acting made it plain that he had the interests of India at heart. Again he refused to interfere in the internal dissensions of Afghanistan, and followed the policy of acknowledging as Amir whosoever was in possession of Kabul and Herat.[2] Thus he saved India the expense of another war with Afghanistan.

Furthermore, when the deficit in the budget rendered

[1] Keene, ii. 250-251. [2] Aitchison, 180-182.

taxation imperative, the Viceroy imposed an income-tax, though he thereby incurred the criticism of the European community who were of opinion that Indians alone should pay taxes. Sir John Lawrence thought otherwise, and the income-tax was imposed on Indians and Europeans alike. Moreover, during the famine in Orissa, after private enterprise had failed to bring relief to the famine-stricken area, the Viceroy laid down the principles of the famine-policy, which were afterwards followed in similar cases of distress.[1]

According to this policy the task of affording relief to the famine-stricken rests with the Government; whilst relief should, in the first instance, take the form of public works of various kinds, such as road building. It is true that Sir John Lawrence has been blamed for his delay in granting official relief; but this delay was caused, not by his lack of sympathy with the sufferers, but rather by the magnitude of the problem with which he had to deal and by his allowing himself to be too easily persuaded by his official advisers.[2]

IV. LORD MAYO, 1869-1872

Lord Mayo's administration was based on the same peaceful principles as that of his predecessor, but with this difference: while Sir John made it a point to win the affection of the Indian people, not caring greatly for ceremonial display,[3] Lord Mayo made it his policy to be on the best terms with Indian princes. Accordingly he made friends with the Amir of Afghanistan. The Amir and Lord Mayo met at the Ambala Durbar, and the Viceroy, who was not allowed by the home authorities to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the ruler of Afghanistan, agreed to increase

[1] Hunter, 496. [2] Aitchison, 161. [3] *Ibid.* 196.

the latter's subsidy and to supply him with arms. Thus he hoped effectually to check Russian influence in Afghanistan.

Lord Mayo was equally successful in dealing with other Indian princes. For he promised them that even in case of misrule their states would not be annexed, but that a regency would be established under a British Resident. At the same time he made it clear that the British Government would do nothing to interfere with their states, and would do everything to encourage the Indian princes, as long as they proved themselves good administrators.[1] A double instance of this policy was the establishment of a Council in Alwar where the young Maharaja did not care for the welfare of his subjects, and the respect and honours given to the Begum of Bhopal, under whose rule Bhopal had greatly prospered.

It was in pursuance of the same policy that Lord Mayo founded the Mayo College, at Ajmer, for the sons of Indian nobles and princes.

Finally, Lord Mayo was anxious to curtail public expenditure; accordingly the Public Works Department was reorganised on more economic lines, and the system of State Railways was introduced into India. In 1872 Lord Mayo's administration was brought to an untimely end; on the occasion of a visit to the Andamans he was murdered by an Afghan convict.

V. LORD NORTHBROOK, 1872-1876

Lord Northbrook's administration calls but for a few passing comments. His policy towards Afghanistan was one of non-interference, though the home authorities were anxious that British agents should be

[1] Hunter, *Mayo*, 104-105.

appointed to Kandahar, Kabul and Herat. This difference of opinion between the Viceroy and the Home Government ultimately led to Lord Northbrook's resignation. Whilst Lord Northbrook was Viceroy, the Gaikwar of Baroda was deposed for notorious misconduct and gross misgovernment of the State, and Sayaji Rao was established on the throne. In 1873 Orissa was visited by a dreadful famine, but the principles of famine policy laid down by Sir John Lawrence did much to save the lives of the affected population.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Canning's administration (Pacification, and military, financial, judicial, and legislative reforms). (I.)
2. Show that Sir John Lawrence was a popular Viceroy. (III.)
3. Write a note on Lord Mayo's way of dealing with the Indian princes. (IV.)
4. Compare and contrast Sir John Lawrence and Lord Mayo (III-IV.)

No. 3.—FROM LORD LYTTON TO LORD MINTO, 1876-1910

Plan. In 1876 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India, and therefore with that year opens the second period of Crown Government. This period closes with Lord Minto's administration, during which a total change was made in the government of India by the formal adoption of the principle of elective representation. We will speak in succession of the administrations of Lord Lytton, 1876-1880; Lord Ripon, 1880-1884; Lord Dufferin, 1884-1888; Lord Lansdowne, 1888-1894; Lord Elgin, 1894-1899; Lord Curzon, 1899-1905; and Lord Minto, 1905-1910.

I. LORD LYTTON AND LORD RIPON,
1876-1880, 1880-1884

1. The Second Afghan War. The Second Afghan War, its causes and results, have already been fully dealt with. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that, when the English decided on evacuating Afghanistan, they did so, because they felt assured that the main object of the campaign had been attained. As a matter of fact they left behind them a strong impression that the rulers of England would never tolerate the establishment and exercise of political control on the part of Russia over Afghanistan. In this respect the war was a complete success.

2. Lord Ripon's Sympathetic Policy. After Lord Ripon had brought the Second Afghan War to a close, he devoted himself to the introduction of administrative reforms which have won for him the affection of all Indians.

Introduction of Local Self-Government. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and other large towns had long enjoyed the privilege of municipal institutions. But during Lord Ripon's administration the power of municipal bodies, the municipal resources and financial responsibilities were considerably increased.[1] He also established Local Boards. The Local Boards deal with rural areas, much in the same way as the Municipality deals with the town affairs; and therefore they may be correctly described as an extension of the municipality to rural districts.

These Local Boards were of three kinds. A rural district was divided into various rural areas. At the head of each rural area there was a *Minor Board.* The *Minor Boards* were under the control of the *District*

[1] *Gazetteer*, iv. 287.

Board which presided over the whole district and they had also to send delegates to the *District Council* for the passing of common measures affecting the whole of the district.[1] These Minor Boards, District Boards and District Councils served the useful purpose of associating the Indians with the work of local administration, and thus caused all over the country a general awakening of interest in public affairs.

Lord Ripon also gained the goodwill of the Indians by various other measures. He restored Mysore to its former position of a feudatory state; he repealed the Vernacular Press Act passed by his predecessor, and thus freed editors of newspapers from the obligation of furnishing securities; recommended the aid of educational establishments by means of grants; reduced the duty on salt and the import duty on cotton; and finally he endeavoured to suppress the privilege by which Europeans could claim to be tried in court by magistrates of their own race, so eager was he to place Indians and Europeans on exactly the same footing of equality. But the opposition to the Ilbert Bill, by which all judicial disqualification based on race distinctions was to be removed, was so fierce that Government had to withdraw the bill. As a natural result, his liberal and sympathetic policy secured for him the lasting affection of all Indians.

II. LORD DUFFERIN, 1884-1888

1. The Third Burmese War. The Third Burmese War has already been dealt with. It was caused by a commercial alliance between Burma and France, and actually brought about by a dispute between the King of Burma and the Bombay and Burma Trading Company.

[1] *Gazetteer*, vi. 299.

English arms triumphed, and the whole of Upper Burma was annexed, whilst King Theebaw was deported to India.

2. The First Indian National Congress. The following were the causes that led to the convocation of the First Indian National Congress. The imposition of the Vernacular Press Act, commonly known as the Black Act, during the administration of Lord Lytton, had caused widespread discontent. Likewise the Second Afghan War was looked upon by many Indians as an example of uncalled for interference in Afghan affairs. Furthermore, Lord Ripon's liberal and sympathetic policy had caused a universal awakening of interest in public affairs. Consequently it was resolved that Indians should organise themselves by way of conference to ventilate their grievances. The First Indian National Congress met in Bombay in 1885.

The fundamental principles of the Congress were :

1. The fusion into one national whole, of the different and discordant elements that constitute the population of India.

2. The gradual regeneration along all lines—mental, moral, social and political—of the united nation.

3. The consolidation of union between England and India, and the modification of such conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.

These principles were adhered to till the year 1907.

III. LORD LANSDOWNE, 1888-1894

During Lord Lansdowne's administration a military expedition was sent against Manipur. A contest for the succession to the throne led to English interference. The State of Manipur promised, however, to settle things peacefully with the Chief Commissioner of

Assam. But their actions were less peaceful than their intentions, for the Commissioner was cruelly murdered. Thereupon the British forces occupied the country, and the English put their candidate on the throne.

But Lord Lansdowne's administration is above all remarkable for constitutional progress, because it was during his tenure of office that an important step was taken in the direction of associating Indians with the business of legislation. Up to that time Government had been satisfied with saying: "Let us hear what a few Indians *of our own choosing* have to say about our laws (1861)." But in 1892 Government said: "Let us hear what a few Indians *chosen by the Indians themselves* have to say about our laws."[1] Accordingly the various legislative councils were enlarged, and the right of election was conferred on the Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Landlords and Municipalities.

IV. LORD ELGIN, 1894-1899

Lord Elgin's administration was not marked by important events. There was a local disturbance at Chitral which was easily quelled in 1895; and two years later began the tribal disturbances caused by the rising of the Afridi clans. These disturbances led to extensive military operations which only succeeded in bringing about a temporary respite; for the tribes were never completely subjugated, and even nowadays the North-West frontier is the scene of periodic disturbances. It was also during Lord Elgin's administration that plague and famine swooped down upon India, and carried off many thousands of victims.

[1] *Report on Indian Constit. Reforms*, 41.

V. LORD CURZON, 1899-1905

Plan

1. North-West Frontier Policy.
2. Provincial Readjustment.
3. Educational Reforms.
4. Agrarian Reforms.
5. Other Reforms.
6. Resignation.

1. North-West Frontier Policy. (*a*) *The Problem.* The North-West Frontier was a cause of perpetual anxiety to British statesmen, because there was a constant fear that Russia would sooner or later extend her ever-advancing colonial empire over these countries and would thus gain possession of the very gates of India. All politicians did not advocate the same frontier policy. There were those who were for occupying the mountain ranges, and for subjugating all the hill-tribes ; their cry was : "On to the Oxus." Others, on the contrary, were appalled by the sacrifices in men and money such a forward policy would entail ; accordingly they were for evacuating the country, and their cry was : "Back to the Indus."

(*b*) *Curzon's Policy.* Curzon adopted a middle course between these two extremes ; he wanted to establish a buffer state between the colonial empires of England and Russia. He therefore determined on the withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions in Chitral, entrusting the outposts of the British Empire to a tribal militia, whilst the British forces were stationed in the rear. Thus the British forces in Chitral had always an open road at their back, by which either reinforcements could be hurried up, or a retreat could be effected. At the same time the forces at the base

could be used as a support to the tribal militia. The establishment of a tribal militia was a clever solution of a difficult problem.

In pursuance of his policy of establishing a buffer state on the North-West Frontier, Lord Curzon formed the frontier districts of Punjab into a separate province, known as the North-West Frontier Province, under a special Chief Commissioner. Finally, always with the same purpose in view, Lord Curzon pursued a conciliatory policy towards Afghanistan. In order to keep on good terms with Amir Abdurrahman, Lord Curzon practically acknowledged the Amir's independence by granting him the title of King, and at the same time promised to continue the payment of the subsidy which had been originally granted by Lord Lansdowne.

2. **Provincial Readjustment.** Another important administrative reform effected by Lord Curzon was the partition of Bengal. The reasons brought forward for the partition of Bengal were the following : Bengal had an area of 189,000 square miles, with a population of seventy-eight millions ; consequently the government of Bengal was a very arduous task. Furthermore, it was said that Eastern Bengal was being sadly neglected, and had a record number of crimes and punishable offences. Accordingly Lord Curzon carried out the partition-plan (which, however, did not originate with him), and created a special province called Eastern Bengal. The partition of Bengal caused great excitement among the Bengalis, who viewed the splitting-up of the great Bengal family as a national calamity. In order to be complete we may forestall the future by a few years, and mention here that in 1911 the partition of Bengal was cancelled.

3. **Educational Reforms.** Lord Curzon's educational

reforms are embodied in the Bill of 1904, which aimed at raising the standard of higher education. Accordingly it advocated a change in the examination tests, called for more able teachers, insisted on the periodical inspection of colleges, and decreed the reconstitution of Senates and Syndicates of Universities. This Bill met with violent opposition all over India, and made the Viceroy unpopular with the educated classes.

4. **Agrarian Reforms.** Lord Curzon was also responsible for several Agrarian reforms. He passed the Suspensions and Remissions Resolution, by which the district officer in charge is entitled either to suspend or to remit the revenue in time of dire distress. Furthermore, by the Land Alienation Act, the cultivators of the Punjab were protected from money-lenders, who could not legally either buy land, or hold land on mortgage for a period exceeding twenty years. Agriculture was further encouraged by the creation of Co-operative Credit Societies, and by the establishment of an agricultural Research Institute.

5. **Other Reforms.** Besides all these reforms, the Viceroy's restless energy found still other fields of activity. Various commissions were appointed. There was a Famine Commission, an Irrigation Commission, a Police Commission, a Plague Research Commission, and finally there was the Ancient Monuments Act.

6. **Resignation of Lord Curzon.** Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief in India, was bent on securing the whole control of the army. He objected to the existing state of things according to which the Commander-in-Chief was overruled by the Military Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He ultimately carried his point, and the Commander-in-Chief became the

Military Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Lord Curzon viewed the whole transaction as a serious encroachment upon the power of the Viceroy, and resigned.

SUMMARY

I. North-West Frontier Policy

1. Establishment of a buffer state between the Russian and the British colonial empires.
2. Foundation of tribal militia in Chitral.
3. Friendship with the Amir of Afghanistan.

II. Reforms

A. Provincial Readjustments : The partition of Bengal.

B. Educational Reforms : Reorganised public examination tests, the constitution of senates and syndicates, the appointment of professors.

C. Agrarian Reforms : (1) Passed the Suspensions and Remissions Resolution (in time of famine). (2) Passed the Land Alienation Act in the Punjab (Land of cultivators could not be legally bought or mortgaged for more than twenty years). (3) Established Co-operative Credit Societies to help the ryots. (4) Established an Agricultural Research Institute.

D. Other Reforms : Finance Commission, Irrigation Commission, Police Commission, Plague Research Commission, Ancient Monuments Act.

III. Resignation

He resigned when the control of the Indian Army was taken away from the Viceroy, and entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief.

N.B.—Too many reforms in too short a time.

VI. LORD MINTO, 1905-1910

Lord Minto's administration was marked by widespread popular unrest. Among other manifestations of public discontent there was an anarchistic display of bomb-throwing ; secret societies were started ; and

newspapers filled their columns with inflammatory articles. The new Viceroy was therefore faced with a very arduous task. He endeavoured to crush criminal outbreaks by passing strong repressive measures, and to allay the discontent of the more peacefully-minded by conciliatory concessions. By virtue of an old Act of 1818 political agitators were deported without assigning the reason ; and new Acts such as the Explosives Act, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. By the last Act it was provided that certain crimes should be submitted to a private magisterial inquiry, whilst the perpetrators should stand their trial before three judges of the High Court without a jury.

At the same time steps were taken to win over the more peacefully-minded by a further extension of representative institutions. By the Morley-Minto Reforms a further extension was made to associate Indians with the business of legislation, and the Government formally adopted the principle of elective representation. Accordingly the Imperial Council was enlarged, and now consisted of the members of the Imperial Executive Council and sixty additional members, of whom twenty-seven were to be elected. Similarly the Provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged to a maximum of fifty additional members, and Government faced the risk of abandoning the official majority in provincial councils. The Morley-Minto Reforms constitute therefore an important landmark in the history of the British administration of India under the Crown.[1]

[1] *Report on Indian Constit. Reforms*, 47.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the administrative reforms introduced by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Minto. (III, VI.)

2. Show that Lord Ripon's attitude towards the Indians was singularly sympathetic. (I. 2.)

3. Give an idea of Lord Curzon's relentless activity during his tenure of office. (V ; Summary.)

4. Write a note on the origin of the Indian National Congress. (II.)

No. 4.—LORD HARDINGE, 1910-1916

Plan

1. Various Forms of Political agitation.
2. Conciliatory Policy.
3. India's Share in the Great War.

1. Various Forms of Political Agitation. After the passing of the Morley-Minto Reforms, Indians began to take an ever-increasing interest in political affairs. This public interest found an outlet in various forms of political agitation.

The First Indian National Congress met in 1885 ;[1] in 1907 a split took place among the Congressmen, who now formed the two parties known as the Moderates and the Extremists. The Moderates advocated for India a system of self-government equivalent to Dominion Home Rule. The Extremists were not for constitutional agitation, and many of them were imbued with separatist tendencies. The split lasted from 1907 to 1916.

The result was that constitutional agitation was carried on side by side with other political activities more or less against the law of the country, and ranging from acts of insignificant defiance of the law to the anarchical display of bomb-throwing, of which the

[1] See p. 353.

Viceroy himself was a victim. Finally political agitation was not confined to Indian affairs. It was also extended to Indians in other countries. Thus, for example, in Africa the position of the Indians was far from satisfactory, and to better their lot Mr. Gandhi originated the system of passive resistance.

2. Conciliatory Policy. In order to allay the unrest and discontent the rulers of India pursued a conciliatory policy as is made plain by the following instances. In 1911, on the occasion of the visit of King George and Queen Mary, the partition of Bengal, which had caused so much discontent, was revoked. Moreover, Indian soldiers were placed on the same footing as the other soldiers of the Empire, inasmuch as by bravery on the battlefield they could secure the coveted honour of the Victoria Cross. Delhi was made the capital of India, and Government promised an annual grant of fifty lakhs for educational purposes. Shortly afterwards an Indian became the Member for Education in the Imperial Executive Council. The general result was that giant steps were made in the educational progress. The number of primary schools was considerably increased; schemes were started for the opening of Universities at Patna, Dacca and Rangoon; and at Benares a Hindu University was founded.

It was part of the same conciliatory policy that the Government of India took up the cause of Indians abroad. Thus, for example, Lord Hardinge intervened on behalf of the Indians in South Africa.

3. India's Share in the Great War. In 1914 the Great War broke out, and in the world-wide conflict India was not destined to remain a passive spectator. India helped England with men, money and materials.[1]

[1] *The Indian Year-Book*, 1919.

Men. When the war started, India had an army composed of 80,000 English soldiers and 170,000 Indians. During the period of the war India recruited no less than 985,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatants. Among the combatants 552,000 were sent overseas, and fought on the battlefields of France, East Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Salonica. Among the non-combatants 391,000 were sent overseas of whom the greater number were members of the labour corps.

Money. India paid the normal pre-war cost of all her troops. Thus the total military expenditure from the years 1913-1919 amounted to over 154 millions sterling. Besides this, India undertook to contribute 100 millions sterling to the cost of the war. This gigantic sum was partly covered by two war loans which realised 47 and 51½ crores of rupees respectively. To these sums must still be added the munificent gifts of the Indian princes and the contributions of Indians of all classes either for war purposes or to the various Relief Funds. The total sum of these gifts can hardly be less than £5,000,000.

By way of conclusion it must be borne in mind that though the numbers given above fall short of the reality, they bring home to us the truth of the words of Lord Hardinge : "India was bled absolutely white."

Materials. India rendered assistance, not only in men and money, but also in materials. Thus, for example, India supplied 1,874 miles of railway track, 5,999 waggons, 237 locomotives, and 13,000 feet of girders. She also provided 883 steamers and barges, 500 anchor boats and dinghies, and 10,000,000 cubic feet of timber. To make the list more complete, mention must be made of great quantities of wolfram, of millions of yards of khaki drill, and of millions of

tons of wheat and other foodstuffs. Nor must it be forgotten that all over the country the manufacture of munitions was distributed and organised with such relentless energy that the armies furnished from India were made largely independent of supplies from the overburdened factories in England.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the various forms of political agitation carried on during the administration of Lord Hardinge. (I.)

2. Justify the statement that Lord Hardinge pursued a conciliatory policy. (2).

3. What was India's share in the Great War ? (3.)

No. 5.—LORD CHELMSFORD, 1916-1921 [1]

Plan

1. The Afghan War.
2. Awakening of National Consciousness.
3. Attitude of Government.

I. AFGHAN WAR OF 1919

1. Causes. During the Great War the reigning Amir, Habibullah Khan, found himself surrounded by many difficulties, for the entry of Turkey into the war was followed by the preaching of Jehad, or holy Islamic war in Afghanistan. So great was the popular excitement that the Amir received Turkish, Austrian and German "missions" at Kabul. It is generally believed that, if he had lived, he would have succeeded in keeping that neutrality of which he had made an open declaration at the outset of the war. But he was murdered in January 1919, and was succeeded by Amanullah. Meanwhile

[1] For the administration of Lord Chelmsford and of Lord Reading the author has extensively relied on L. F. Rushbrook Williams' Reports: *India in* 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921.

excitement ran fever-high, and political agitators stirred up the people with exaggerated accounts of the Indian unrest. Finally things came to such a pass that the Amir thought that he had either to face internal dissension, civil war, and anarchy, or to declare war on the English. He chose the latter alternative.

2. **Leading Events.** The Afghan troops were taken at a hopeless disadvantage because of the use made by the British of aeroplanes, wireless, and high explosives. Enemy concentrations, military objectives, and the enemy strongholds, Jelalabad and Kabul, were successfully bombed. Moreover, a strong military force made its way through the Khyber Pass, took the Afghans by surprise, and seized Dacca. The occupation of Dacca proved decisive, and made the rising of the tribesmen futile, though it was most troublesome. Finally the destruction of the Afghan fort, Spin Baldak, by long-range artillery completely demoralised the enemy, who, less than a month after hostilities had broken out, sued for peace.

3. **Results.** Peace was signed at Rawalpindi. The Afghans were no longer allowed to import arms and ammunition through India into Afghanistan. The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy were suppressed, and the present Amir's subsidy was not granted. The re-establishment of a complete understanding and the settlement of other matters of common interest to the two nations were to form the subject of a Conference to be held six months later.

But with the signing of peace the military operations did not come to an end ; they merely shifted to another place. The tribes of Waziristan, the Wazirs and the Mashuds, who had been implicated in the Afghan War, continued their raids into territories under British

administration. This led to a further display of British military power, which developed into a long and protracted guerrilla war, likely to last as long as the tribesmen could find shelter in the fastnesses of their mountains.

II. AWAKENING OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

1. **What does it mean?** One of the greatest moral effects, for which the war was responsible, was a wonderful awakening of national consciousness through the length and breadth of India. India was gallantly playing her part in the war; and the natural consequence was that her sons were eager to claim the reward to which their country was entitled. The times when India could be considered as a conquered nation, had gone for good; and, as India had not spared men, money and materials, her sons were determined that she should take her rank among the conquerors. The ultimate result was a great and combined national effort to secure self-government.

2. **The Indian National Congress.** First of all the Indian National Congress Meeting became more and more emphatic in its assertions of the necessity of self-government.

The session of 1916 demanded for India a place in the Empire approximately equal to that of the self-governing dominions. It officially countenanced the Home Rule movement, and adopted a scheme of Self-Government known as the Scheme of the Nineteen, because it was drawn up by nineteen members. According to this scheme the executive was to be made subordinate to a new legislature.

The session of 1917 was unanimous in claiming the constitutional concessions contained in the Scheme of

the Nineteen, and in addition boldly demanded from Government a promise of complete Home Rule in five or ten years.

The session of 1918 carried by a large majority a resolution to the effect that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme was disappointing and unsatisfactory, and asked for instant and full provincial autonomy. At the same time the session reasserted India's right to immediate Home Rule.

The session of 1919 openly found fault with the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa, with the Hunter Committee, the policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the behaviour of General Dyer, and the Viceroy himself, who, according to the members of the Congress, had entirely forfeited the confidence of the people of India.

The session of 1920 adopted Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme, repudiated constitutional methods of agitation, and altered the old creed of the Congress in such a fashion as to eliminate the declared adherence of that body to the British connection.

3. The Muslim League. The political activities of the Muslim League were as pronounced as those of the Indian Congress ; as a matter of fact the Congress and the League worked hand in hand.

In the session of 1916 the Muslim League subscribed to the Scheme of the Nineteen, which was accordingly called the Congress-League Scheme.

In the session of 1917 the union between the Congress and the League was maintained, though there were complaints from Muhammadan leaders that Hindu sympathy on behalf of the Muhammadans was too lukewarm.

But, at the session of the Muslim League in 1918,

excitement ran fever-high. The members were disappointed with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme; they resented the criticism directed by the framers of that scheme against the Congress-League Scheme; they likewise resented the resignation of the European staff of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and above all they were greatly perturbed about Turkey's future status. For the war had come to an end with unexpected suddenness, and Turkey found itself on the losing side. The result was that the League was as determined in its opposition to Government as the Congress.

4. **The Moderates.** The members, who had seceded from the Congress in 1907, came to be known as Moderates, while their opponents were generally called Extremists. The Moderates always made it a fundamental principle of their political creed to countenance and to have recourse to constitutional methods of agitation. In 1916 the division between Moderates and Extremists came to an end, and a reunited Congress met at Lucknow.

The reunion was, however, short-lived, for, on the occasion of the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the two parties once more separated. The Extremists rejected the proposed reforms, whilst the Moderates hailed the reforms as a step towards responsible government. The Moderates held a Congress of their own in 1919, and specially concerned themselves with the formulation of a constructive programme of party activity. In a word, constitutional methods of political agitation is the characteristic of the Moderate party, or of the National Liberal Federation, as it now styles itself.

5. **Mr. Gandhi.** Mr. Gandhi is a political leader who,

so to speak, forms a party by himself; and his name has become associated with various forms of political activity.

Passive Resistance. In 1914 he came into prominence when he launched the Passive Resistance movement to obtain redress for the unequal treatment meted out to Asiatics in South Africa. In 1917 India became the scene of Mr. Gandhi's activities, for in that year he headed two local Passive Resistance movements; the one at Champaran in Bihar, in order to free the tenants from the obligation of devoting a certain portion of their holdings to the cultivation of indigo, the other in the Kaira district of the Bombay Presidency to obtain a remission of the land revenue on account of the failure of the crops.

As a political weapon passive resistance may prove very effective; it consists in quietly ignoring, even at the risk of imprisonment, a certain law considered to be obnoxious, in order to obtain its repeal; it has this disadvantage, that it is a dangerous display of contempt for authority.

Satyagraha. Next, in order to obtain the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, Mr. Gandhi devised the Satyagraha campaign. Satyagraha stands for civil disobedience all along the line, and is therefore more comprehensive than passive resistance. It is more effective than passive resistance, but has also the greater disadvantage of expressing a more widespread contempt for authority.

Non-co-operation. Finally, Mr. Gandhi started the Non-co-operation movement in order to obtain redress of the Punjab wrongs and a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat Question. In the case of the former, the disturbances which had taken place in the Punjab had been put down by measures as stern as they were

effective, and their severity was much resented; thus they came to be known as the Punjab wrongs. Moreover, Turkey had shared in Germany's defeat in the Great War, and the Sultan's temporal and spiritual power was considerably impaired, for among the territorial losses sustained by Turkey was the holy place of Islam. Accordingly Muslims in India started a political agitation of a religious character, known as the Khilafat movement, to restore to the Sultan of Turkey, Khalif of Islam, his pre-war temporal and spiritual power.

Mr. Gandhi by thus making the redress of the Punjab wrongs and the solution of the Khilafat Question the immediate result to be obtained by non-co-operation enlisted the sympathies of Hindus and Muhammadans.

Non-co-operation means the boycott of British Law Courts by judges, lawyers, and litigants; the surrender of titles and honorary offices; the withdrawal of candidates from the reformed councils; the withdrawal of children and students from schools and colleges aided by Government; the establishment of natural educational institutions all over the country, and the resignation of every possible official, from the head-clerk down to the least-paid office peon. Nobody will deny that the scheme possesses the great merit of merciless logic; for if all the officials did resign their posts, the machinery of Government would be thrown completely out of gear. Government would simply collapse, and with its fall Swaraj would follow as a matter of course.

Mr. Gandhi did not spare himself in his efforts to spread his new gospel, and such was his personal influence with his countrymen that the session of 1920 of the Indian National Congress was a complete and notable triumph for non-co-operation; for this scheme was practically adopted at the Nagpur meeting of 1921.

6. Results. The country was thrown into a state of political unrest. There were strikes, hartals, and instances of passive defiance of the law according to the Satyagraha creed. Individual cases of anarchical crime were steadily on the increase, whilst collective disturbances took place at Calcutta, Delhi and Amritsar, which last place became the scene of riot, murder, and arson. Disturbances took place at Ahmedabad and Viramgam in the Bombay Presidency after the news had falsely spread that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested. Finally the boycott of European-made cloth, the ban on country liquor, and the picketing of cloth-markets and of liquor shops led to local disturbances in various places.

III. ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT

The question naturally presents itself: What was Government's attitude towards the political leaders and the members of political parties? The policy adopted by Government was partly coercive, partly conciliatory.

1. Coercive Policy. (*a*) *Defence of India Act.* As long as the war lasted, those who went in for unconstitutional agitation in order to obtain political reforms were summarily dealt with by the Defence of India Act, if their actions were liable to disturb the peace of the realm or to jeopardise the success of British arms.

(*b*) *The Rowlatt Bill.* ORIGIN. Lest, with the expiry of the Defence of India Act six months after peace had been formally concluded, there should be a fresh outburst of anarchical lawlessness, Government provided a substitute for the Defence of India Act. This substitute was called the Rowlatt Bill, after Sir Sydney Rowlatt, the President of the Committee, whose resolutions were approved of, adopted, and legally enforced by Government.

PURPOSE. The aim of the Rowlatt Act is to enable Government to deal expeditiously with anarchical and revolutionary offences by means of extraordinary tribunals, when and where the Governor-General is satisfied that offences of a revolutionary character are prevalent.

RECEPTION. The introduction of the Rowlatt Bill caused widespread unrest and discontent, and Mr. Gandhi started the Satyagraha Campaign in order to prevent it from becoming law. The general unrest developed little by little into local disturbances, notably at Delhi and at Amritsar. Disturbances also took place in the Bombay Presidency, at Ahmedabad, and at Viramgam and Nadiad. In the Punjab meanwhile, the disturbances were assuming alarming proportions, and a state of open rebellion existed in Lahore and Amritsar.

(c) *Martial Law.* On the occasion of the Punjab disturbances martial law was proclaimed in the Amritsar and Lahore districts, and was shortly afterwards extended to three other districts. Whilst martial law was in force, General Dyer ordered his troops to fire upon a crowd in the Jallianwala Bagh, and thereby inflicted about 500 casualties. Moreover, stern repressive punishments were meted out, and injudicious orders, such as the notorious "Crawling Order," were passed. The result was that, whilst public tranquillity was being quickly restored, the casualties of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, the stern punishments, and the humiliating Crawling Order, were instrumental in causing widespread indignation, and the Punjab grievance became the favourite topic of political leaders of every shade and colour.

2. Conciliatory Policy. Government did not fail to

attempt to win the goodwill of Indian leaders by its conciliatory attitude.

(*a*) *The Promise of* 1917. This conciliatory attitude was first made manifest by the promise of 1917. In 1917 Government promised to give to the Indians an increasing share in the administration of India so as to give them, little by little, self-government.

(*b*) *The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.* A first step towards the fulfilment of the promise of 1917 was the drawing up of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 1918, which proposed a number of constitutional changes affecting the Imperial Government at Home, the Imperial Government in India, the Provincial Government, and the Indian Princes.

The Imperial Government at Home. According to this scheme the control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State was to be slightly relaxed.

The Imperial Government in India. The Indian element was to be increased in the Imperial Executive Council. Moreover, the Imperial Legislative was to consist of two Houses, the Upper House or the Council of State (sixty members), and the Lower House or the Legislative Assembly (144 members). Many members of both Houses were to be elected.

The Provincial Government. The Provincial Executive was to be divided into two sections ; the Governor and his Official Colleagues, entrusted with the reserved subjects, and the Indian Ministers, in charge of the transferred subjects. Moreover, the list of transferred subjects was gradually to be increased, till at last complete provincial self-government would be secured. Finally, the Provincial Legislative was to be enlarged, and made to consist of a substantial, elected, non-official majority.

The Indian Princes. The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme provided for the establishment of a Chamber of Indian Princes, which was to act as a permanent consultative body, meeting once a year to discuss, in conjunction with the Viceroy, questions affecting the states, or the empire, or both British India and the states.

(*c*) *The Government Bill of* 1919. A second step towards the fulfilment of the promise of 1917 was the passing of the Government of India Bill, by which most of the proposed reforms contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were approved of and legally enforced by Government.

(*d*) *Lord Hunter's Committee.* Another proof of Government's conciliatory attitude was the appointment of the Hunter Committee to investigate the causes of the Punjab disturbances and the administration of martial law. By this means Government hoped to allay the discontent caused by the Punjab grievance ; but the attempt proved abortive, because the members of the Committee were racially divided in their findings, and presented not one but two reports : a Majority Report drawn up by the English members, and a Minority Report drawn up by the Indian members.

The Majority Report justified the adoption of martial law, and opined that the Satyagraha movement was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the disturbances, which in its opinion amounted to a state of rebellion. On the whole it defended the manner in which martial law had been administered, but frankly admitted that some of the orders passed were injudicious, and served no useful purpose. Among other things, it severely criticised General Dyer's " Crawling Order," the roll-

call imposed upon the students of Lahore, and the order requiring Indians to salaam Europeans.

The Minority Report was of opinion that the disorders did not amount to rebellion, and that they ought to have been suppressed without the adoption of martial law. It further admitted that the Satyagraha Campaign had undermined the law-abiding instincts of the people; but at the same time asserted that in its opinion the anti-British and anti-Government outbursts were purely the result of mob frenzy. Moreover, the minority were more severe than the majority in their condemnation of the manner in which martial law had been administered. They expressed their belief that many of the orders had been issued purely for punitive purposes in such a way as to cause racial humiliations.

Government made a final attempt to satisfy public opinion by officially accepting the view that the administration of martial law in the Punjab was abused in particular instances by misuse of power, by irregularity, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. They further stated their belief that in his conduct at Jallianwala Bagh, General Dyer overstepped the limit of any reasonable man's estimation of the fitness of punishment, and acted with disregard to the humanity which this particular case demanded.

The Duke's Appeal. As a last instance of Government's conciliatory attitude we will mention the appeal of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. On the occasion of his visit to India in 1921 he said: " Since my landing I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. As an old friend of India I appeal to you all —British and Indians—to bury, along with the dead past, the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past,

to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands, and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day."

SUMMARY

I. Afghan War

The war lasted less than a month ; Afghans gained nothing, lost a great deal ; the border-tribes never laid down arms.

II. Political Unrest

A. The Indian National Congress: (1) In 1916 the I.N.C. drew up the Scheme of the Nineteen, and asked for Home Rule. (2) In 1917 the I.N.C. brought forward the Scheme of the Nineteen and claimed Home Rule in five or ten years. (3) In 1918 the I.N.C. rejected the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, asked for provincial autonomy and Home Rule. (4) In 1919 the I.N.C. passed a wholesale condemnation of Government (Indians in Africa, O'Dwyer, Dyer, Viceroy). (5) In 1920 the I.N.C. adopted non-co-operation, and repudiated constitutional methods of agitation.

B. The Muslim League : (1) Identification with the I.N.C. (The Scheme of the Nineteen — Congress-League Scheme). (2) Khilafat agitation : restoration of political and spiritual power of the Sultan of Turkey.

C. The Moderates : The Moderates accepted the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and in 1919 established the National Liberal Federation.

D. Mr. Gandhi : He started various movements of opposition to Government. (1) Passive resistance in Bihar and in Kaira District. (2) Satyagraha against Rowlatt Act. (3) Non-co-operation to obtain redress of the Punjab wrongs and solution of Khilafat question.

III. Results of Political Unrest

A number of disturbances took place.

IV. Government's Attitude

A. Coercive Policy : (1) Defence of India Act to punish all those that acted against Government during the war. (2) Rowlatt Bill to deal with anarchical crimes after the war. (3) Martial law in the Punjab.

B. Conciliatory Policy : (1) The promise of 1917 to grant self-government. (2) The Montagu-Chelmsford Report : a

scheme for granting to the Indians a greater share in the administration of the country. (3) The Government Bill of 1919: the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme became law. (4) Lord Hunter's Committee: an official inquiry into the Punjab wrongs.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the causes, leading events, and results of the Afghan War. (I.)

2. Show how the World War of 1914 was effective in bringing about a great national awakening in India. (Summary.)

3. Write a brief account of the Home Rule movement during Lord Chelmsford's administration. (Summary.)

4. Write notes on the activities of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Moderates. (II. 2-4.)

5. Write a note on Mr. Gandhi. (II. 5.)

6. Write a brief note on Passive Resistance, Satyagraha, Non-co-operation, the Rowlatt Bill, Lord Hunter's Committee. (II. 5.)

7. What was the result of the political agitation during Lord Chelmsford's administration ? (II. 6).

8. What was Government's attitude towards the Home Rule movement during the administration of Lord Chelmsford ? (III.)

No. 6.—LORD READING, 1921-1926

Lord Reading became Viceroy in 1921 at a time when the country was in a state of widespread political unrest, and when efforts were being made everywhere to impair England's power in India. In these critical circumstances the new Viceroy's past experiences stood him in good stead; for he had already distinguished himself both in law and in the diplomatic service. However, what made it possible for him to face the difficulties that surrounded him on every side, was not so much his diplomatic skill, but rather the long experience of a brilliant judicial career. It was his keen legal mind more than anything else, that enabled him to bring to a successful end the struggle with Non-co-operation, and safeguard England's paramount power in India.

Plan

1. Struggle with Non-co-operation.
2. Safeguarding England's paramount power.

STRUGGLE WITH NON-CO-OPERATION

1. Political Parties. When Lord Reading became Viceroy there were the following political parties in the field :

(*a*) *The Indian National Party.* They were dissatisfied with the Montford Reforms, repudiated constitutional methods of agitation, and were ready to break every British connection.

(*b*) *The National Liberal Federation Party.* They had originally belonged to the Congress Party, seceded in 1907, joined it again in 1916, and left it once more in 1919. They advocated constitutional methods of agitation, and accepted the Montford Reforms as a first step towards complete self-government.

(*c*) *The Muslim League Party.* They were disappointed with the Montford Reforms and were embittered by religious opposition aroused by England's method of dealing with Turkey which had shared defeat in the World War.

(*d*) *Mr. Gandhi.* He belonged to no party, and was more powerful than any party. His political activities embraced passive resistance, satyagraha, and non-co-operation. So great was his influence that towards 1921 he was practically the uncrowned King of India.

2. Political Activities. The most influential among the political leaders, that were opposed to Government, was Mr. Gandhi, whose activities were manifold. First and foremost he continued to preach non-co-operation, or the famous Triple Boycott of British Courts,

Government Schools, and the Reformed Councils. Furthermore, he organised a big campaign to obtain a crore of rupees, the sum deemed necessary to bring the non-co-operation campaign to a successful issue. His appeal found eager supporters, and the money was forthcoming in a surprisingly short time.

In the next place he set his heart upon removing the curses of untouchability and of alcoholism. In his campaign against alcoholism he gained many followers ; and picketing of liquor shops became the order of the day. But the question of the untouchables proved a very delicate point, and even Mr. Gandhi's strong personal influence could not counteract the innate reverence and respect in which the Hindus hold the caste system.

Finally he hoped to hasten on the coming of Swaraj by introducing into every Indian home the use of the hand-spinning wheel ; for in his opinion the *Charka* was to inflict a staggering blow on British commercialism. Besides this Mr. Gandhi agreed to the proposal that civil disobedience might be collectively embraced in any given locality that was ripe for it ; and all over the country he enlisted a large number of national volunteers whose duty it was to enforce by peaceful means the Triple Boycott.

3. The State of the Country. Meanwhile the country was in a state of widespread unrest, partly brought about by the Ali Brothers. The latter had come forward as the leaders of the discontented Muslims and devoted themselves to the stirring up of their co-religionists by anti-government speeches, pan-Islamic in character. As Mr. Gandhi had always preached non-violence, it is difficult to determine to what extent he was unwillingly the cause, or the occasion, of the

disturbances that took place. For it cannot be denied that disorders were steadily on the increase.

Thus, for example, disturbances took place at Giridih in Bihar, and at Malegaon in the Bombay Presidency. Again, in Assam thousands of labourers downed tools in the foolish hope that a new era had dawned in which men would no longer be obliged to work for a living. There were likewise labour troubles in Madras, and rioting in Karachi and Dharwar (Bombay), Calcutta, and Chittagong. Next the Moplahs broke loose, and literally ran amok, causing widespread terror and devastation. Furthermore, when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay, grievous disturbances took place. The rioting lasted three days, and, besides considerable damage done to property, there was a casualty list of fifty-three killed and about 440 wounded. Finally, an attempt was made to start mass civil disobedience under the personal supervision of Mr. Gandhi, who for that purpose went to Bardoli, when twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were killed by an infuriated mob at Chauri Chaura.

4. **Lord Reading's Policy.** (*a*) *Conciliatory Measures.* In the first place the Viceroy tried to allay the general discontent. This conciliatory policy was evidenced by his attempt to secure a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat Question. Accordingly the Government of India approached the Home Government, and in the strongest terms insisted on a revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. They specially recommended the evacuation of Constantinople, the restoration of the Sultan's suzerainty over the holy places of Islam, and the return to Turkey of Ottoman, Thrace, and Smyrna. Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary-of-State for India, did not hesitate to publish the famous memorandum, though its

publication led to his resignation from the British Cabinet.

This policy received considerable support from the visit of the Prince of Wales to India; for the Prince made it the special object of his visit everywhere to strengthen the bonds of friendship between India and England.

Finally, the Viceroy actively interfered on behalf of Indian interest, when the Union Parliament of South Africa started a campaign of anti-Asiatic legislation in the form of a Bill providing for Areas Reservation. The provisions of the Bill would have made it impossible for Asiatics to acquire lands except in specified areas. The Government of India took up the defence of Indian interests and rights, and succeeded in having all anti-Asiatic legislation postponed till the whole question should have been amicably discussed in a "Round Table Conference" between Indian and African delegates. This decision was a triumph for the Viceroy; and was to a certain extent instrumental in allaying public discontent.

(*b*) *Repressive Measures.* On the other hand the Viceroy was determined not to allow political leaders to have their own way in their tactics of opposition to Government. When the suggestion came of arranging a compromise between Indian leaders and Government by means of a "Round Table Conference," Lord Reading made it clear that he would never countenance unconstitutional methods of agitation. He declared that, before any conference could take place, certain concessions would have to be made by the non-co-operators.

Again the announcement of a campaign of civil disobedience was met by the answer that Government

would sanction the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in any district in which it was considered necessary. Finally, Mr. Gandhi threatened to organise a system of mass civil disobedience, if Government failed to set free all prisoners, either convicted or on trial for non-violent activities, and did not promise to abstain from interference with the non-co-operation party. This ultimatum was categorically rejected.

But this coercive policy was not limited to threats alone. In course of time the threats were carried into execution. The Ali Brothers were arrested, tried, and convicted ; and when in certain districts of the Madras Presidency attempts were made to carry out the civil disobedience programme by the refusal of the payment of taxes, the movement was put down by stern repressive measures.

Finally, the outbreak at Chauri Chaura brought the strained relations between Non co-operators and Government to a breaking-point. Lord Reading determined to act, and issued orders for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, who was subsequently tried, convicted of sedition, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, 1922.

5. Redistribution of Parties. Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment was a severe blow to the non-co-operation campaign ; and there are some who make bold to maintain that non-co-operation had entirely perished during 1923. But not many will agree with them. It is true that non-co-operation, as a political campaign, has failed to bring about within the promised time the collapse of British Government and the establishment of Swaraj. But, in spite of this failure, non-co-operation still survives as an attitude of mind and a vehicle of an awakened national sentiment.

The blow inflicted on non-co-operation by Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment was severely felt among his followers, and brought about a remarkable redistribution of political parties.

(*a*) *The Congress-Khilafat Party.* They were members of the Congress Party who, under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das thought it was high time to put a stop to non-council policy. Accordingly, they were called *Changers.* They constituted a minority in the Congress Party, and advocated council entry. They did not believe that Swaraj would come through the councils, but they argued that the councils must be captured to deprive Government of a powerful instrument of repression.

(*b*) *The No-Changers.* They were the majority of the Congress Party, and remained faithful to the Triple Boycott of British Law Courts, of the Councils, and of the Educational Establishments.

(*c*) *The National Liberal Party.* They accepted the Montford Reforms, and considered them as a first step towards complete self-government. After the Triple Boycott had been started, they had the councils to themselves. But the decision of the Changers to seek council election put them at a serious disadvantage.

(*d*) *The Independents.* This was a fourth party consisting of men of all shades of opinion who did not want to join either of the three parties previously mentioned. Their power lay in their freedom from any fixed political creed and it was this freedom that constituted their strength, for they could either support or oppose any of the three other parties.

(*e*) *The Nationalists.* As soon as the Changers took their place in the councils, they perceived that they were not sufficiently numerous to carry out their

programme of obstruction. Accordingly they succeeded in forming a coalition of some seventy members, which became subsequently known as the Nationalist Party. The Nationalist Party was made up of Changers and Independents. But the Independents stipulated that obstruction should never be launched unless it was agreed to by three-fourths of the combined strength; thus the Changers were forced partly to sacrifice their policy of wholesale obstruction.

In this way the arrest of Mr. Gandhi brought about considerable political changes, and proved a turning point in the great struggle between non-co-operators and Government.

6. The Ordinance of Bengal, 1924. The famous Triple Boycott failed to bring about the longed-for political changes. This failure was followed by an outbreak of criminal outrages perpetrated during the year 1923 in the province of Bengal. Dacoities, robberies, and murders were committed; a bomb factory was discovered, and other activities directed to the manufacture of bombs and the illicit collection of arms were detected. Thus a whole terrorist organisation was little by little discovered. To put an effective check to the spread of these criminal methods, the Viceroy passed the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1924.

The Ordinance provides that persons suspected of belonging to the secret criminal association can be arrested without warrant, and tried by two special judges. The decision of these judges is then communicated to the Local Government, which shall consider the same, and pass an order thereon. Against this order there is no appeal; and the proceedings and the reports of the tribunal are confidential. In simple

words the Ordinance provides for swift arrest and secret trial of the persons suspected. In this way a number of persons were arrested, tried, and imprisoned; and great was the indignation of Indian politicians at this summary method of meting out punishment.

II. ENGLAND'S PARAMOUNT POWER

From Lord Reading's policy towards non-co-operation and anarchy it may easily be gathered that he was determined to safeguard England's paramount power in India. The following are the most important measures, that show the Viceroy's uncompromising attitude in this respect.

1. **Power of Certification.** First of all he did not hesitate to make use of the certifying power to overcome the opposition of the Legislative Assembly. Thus for example, in order to balance the budget of 1923-24, the Salt Duty was increased by certification, though it was a step that caused much indignation among Congressmen, and dismay among Liberals.

This was not the first occasion on which the Viceroy made use of the extraordinary power allotted to him by the Government of India Act. In 1922, Government thought it necessary to introduce a Bill to prevent the dissemination of books and of newspapers containing matter liable to excite disaffection against princes or chiefs of states in India. In the opinion of Government this measure became necessary after the repeal of the press laws on account of the treaties existing with the Indian states.

The members of the Legislative Assembly made short work of the proposed Princes' Protection Bill by rejecting it. Thereupon the Viceroy certified that the Bill was essential for the interests of British India, and

without the assent of the Assembly had the Bill passed by the Council of State.

2. Dealings with Indian princes. The Viceroy was equally uncompromising in his attitude towards Indian princes, when the interests of the paramount power were at stake.

Though the Maharaja of Indore was one of the most powerful Indian rulers, the Viceroy decided that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to investigate the alleged connection of His Highness the Maharaja of Indore with the attempted abduction of Mumtaz Begum and the murder of the late Mr. Bawla in Bombay on 12th January, 1925. The Maharaja protested that his status, rights, and privileges as Maharaja of Indore made it impossible for him to accept such an enquiry; and stated that he preferred to abdicate. The Viceroy took the Maharaja at his word and accepted his abdication.

In 1925 the Nizam of Hyderabad claimed the restoration to Hyderabad of the province of Berar on the plea that the Treaty of 1902, by which this province had been finally ceded, was forced upon the ruler of Hyderabad. He also asserted that the ruler of Hyderabad stands on the same footing as the British Government in India in respect of all the internal affairs of British India.

The Viceroy made it plain that the Treaty of 1902 was not an agreement between the unwilling Nizam and Lord Curzon. At the same time he clearly determined England's position as the paramount power. These were his words: "The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India; therefore no ruler of an Indian state can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing."

The Viceroy had already acted on this principle on a previous occasion. In January 1923 certain allegations of outrages on the part of the officials of the Nabha State towards the officials and the subjects of the Maharaja of Patiala had been referred to the Government of India for official investigation. Before the judicial officer appointed to investigate the case could pronounce judgment, the Maharaja of Nabha offered to abdicate; and his abdication was accepted.

We may therefore conclude that Lord Reading proved a staunch upholder of England's paramount power.

His term of office came to an end in 1926.

SUMMARY

I. The Non-co-operation Campaign

Occasion: The Montford Reforms were rejected by the Indian National Party, disappointed the Muslim League Party, dissatisfied Mr. Gandhi.

Events: Mr. Gandhi's Triple Boycott of British Courts, Government Schools and the Reformed Councils; Mr. Gandhi's campaign against untouchability and alcoholism; the anti-Government speeches of the Ali Brothers; disturbances and riots in Assam, Madras (Moplahs) and Bombay (Chauri Chara).

Government's Policy: (A) Conciliatory Measures: Montagu's memorandum, the efforts of the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy's successful protest against anti-Asiatic legislation in South Africa.

(B) Repressive Measures: Condemnation of anti-constitutional agitation, enforcement of the Seditious Meeting Act, punishment of attempts at non-payment of taxes, arrest of the Ali Brothers and Mr. Gandhi, the Ordinance of Bengal.

Result: These measures proved a severe blow to non-co-operation.

II. England's Paramount Power

England's paramount power was maintained by the use of the power of certification (salt duty, seditious literature), by the abdication of the Maharaja of Indore, by the denial of political equality with England to the Native States, by the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the attitude of the various political parties towards the Montford Reforms ? (I. 1.)

2. What distribution of political parties did Non-co-operation bring about ? (I. 5.)

3. Write a short note on the Non-co-operation Campaign during Lord Reading's term of office, mentioning the occasion, the events, the main result. (I. 1-6.)

4. What was Government's policy in dealing with the Non-co-operation Campaign ? (I. 4 & 6.)

5. Write a note on the Ordinance of Bengal. (I. 6.)

6. How did Lord Reading maintain England's paramount power ? (II. 1-2.)

No. 7.—LORD IRWIN, 1926-1931

Lord Irwin, a deeply religious man, came to India with the intention of inaugurating a peaceful policy of political development towards self-government. But his hopes were doomed to be rudely shattered. During his tenure of office religious dissensions were rife, his attempts at furthering the cause of administrative reform met with widespread opposition, and the greater part of the country was in the throes of civil disturbances.

Plan

1. Religious Dissensions.
2. Administrative Reforms.
3. Civil Disturbances.
4. The Sarda Act.

I. RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS

1. Causes. As soon as he had come to India, the Viceroy had to face the problem of religious dissensions between Hindus and Muhammadans. The immediate causes of inter-communal strife are generally communal

processions, the playing of music near a mosque, the slaughter of cows. But these are but external manifestations of a mental attitude which is more or less general among the members of each community, and which is continually influenced by current events, rumours, hopes, and such insignificant happenings as mischievous Muhammadan boys pelting Hindu passers-by with stones, or a Muhammadan spectator at a cricket match being accidentally struck by a stray Hindu ball. Even the confusion caused by the bolting of a pony in the streets of Delhi has given the impression that a riot had started, and thus actually provoked a real riot.

2. Open Antagonism. On more than one occasion members of the two communities were arrayed against one another, when cities and streets were turned into battlefields. This public antagonism leads to violent and widespread affrays, riot, murder and incendiarism, and incidentally temporarily paralyses communications, trade and commerce in the affected area ; so that other communities, not directly involved in the conflict, are made to suffer no less than the Hindus and Muhammadans. The greatness of this evil may be gathered from the Viceroy's own words : "In less than 18 months, so far as numbers are available, the toll taken by this bloody strife has been between 250 and 300 killed and over 2500 injured."[1]

3. Remedy. In July, 1925, the Viceroy appealed to all the leaders of both communities to fight for toleration and forbearance in all matters of religious dispute.[2] Again about a month later the Viceroy, addressing the Legislative Assembly, emphasised the duty of those entrusted with the administration of India to safeguard

[1] *India in 1927-1928*, p. 17. [2] *India in 1926-1927*, pp. 5-9.

the public peace and the rights of individuals, both of which were endangered by religious dissensions and inter-communal strife.[1]

The result was that important political organisations such as the Simla Hindu-Muslim Conference and the All-India National Congress devoted their attention to finding a peaceful solution of this master-problem of Indian politics. It is true that their attempts were not always very successful, but they helped to create a more peaceful atmosphere.

In this connection it may also be mentioned that in 1927 a Bill was passed providing that " Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects, . . . insults or attempts to insult the religion or religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment . . . or with a fine, or with both." [2]

Though the Bill of 1927 does not claim to supply a final solution of the Hindu-Muhammadan problem, it is nevertheless a step in the right direction.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

1. Indian Statutory Commission. *A. Appointment.* On 26th November, 1927, King George V appointed the Indian Statutory Commission with Sir John Simon as its president. Hence it is also known as the Simon Commission.

B. Purpose. The Commission was appointed for a threefold purpose :

(1) Its members had to inquire into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, the development of representative institutions in India[3].

[1] *India in 1926-1927*, pp. 5-9. [2] *India in 1927-1928*, p. 16.

[3] *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, i. pp. i, xiii, xvi.

(2) They had to report whether it was desirable to establish the principle of responsible government.

(3) They had to decide whether it was desirable to establish second chambers of the local legislatures.[1]

C. Recommendations. After two visits to India (February-March 1928 and October 1928–April 1929), the Commissioners published their Report (1930), which was unanimous on all fundamental matters,[2] making the following proposals :

(*a*) *Provincial Administration.* The members of the Commission proposed the removal of the distinction between Reserved and Transferred subjects, the suppression of dyarchy, the appointment of jointly responsible ministers, the limitation and definition of the Governor's powers of interference, the enlargement of the Provincial Legislatures based on a wider franchise, the safeguarding of the rights of minorities and untouchables, the separation of Burma from India, and a more advanced constitution for the North-West Frontier Province.

(*b*) *Central Administration.* The Commission proposed the re-organisation of the Legislative Assembly as the Federal Assembly with elected members chosen by the Provinces and the areas in British India, with as official members twelve nominated officials together with the members of the Governor-General's Council who sit in the lower House ; the continuance of the Council of State and of the Central Executive, whose members are to be appointed by the Viceroy.

(*c*) *The Army.* The Commission recommended that the defence of India should be entrusted to the Viceroy advised by the Commander-in-Chief as representing the

[1] and [2] *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, i. pp. i, xiii, xvi.

Imperial authorities, instead of being part of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to the Central Legislatures.

(d) *The Civil Services.* The Commission proposed that the Security Service (The Indian Civil Service and The Indian Police Service) should continue to be recruited by the Secretary of State. Whether the Irrigation Service and the Forest Service should be similarly recruited was left an open question.

(e) *The High Courts.* The Commission proposed the centralisation of the High Courts, which become a central charge.

(f) *The India Office.* The Commission proposed the continuance of the subjection of the Governor-General-in-Council to the Secretary of State, the modification of the functions and composition of the Council of India on a reduced scale, its members to compose an advisory consultative body with independent powers for the control of Service conditions and of non-votable Indian Expenditure.

(g) *The States.* The Commission proposed the creation of a Council of Greater India, as a consultative deliberative body on matters of common interest or on such subjects as the Viceroy certifies as suitable for its consideration.[1]

2. Wrecking the Commission. Even before the members of the Statutory Commission had published their Report, various political parties were at work to defeat the Viceroy's attempt at furthering the cause of constitutional progress on constitutional lines.

In 1927, the All-India National Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the National Liberal Federation independently passed resolutions that the Com-

[1] *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, ii. 311-316.

mission should be boycotted at every stage and in every form.[1]

In 1928, the All Parties Conference appointed a sub-committee, of which Pandit Motilal Nehru was one of the chief members, to determine the principles of a constitution for India and draft a report thereon. This report came to be known as the Nehru Report, and claimed for India a form of Government not lower in status than that of any of the self-governing Dominions.[2]

As soon as the Nehru Report was published, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru broke with his father, and not satisfied with Dominion Status, claimed complete Independence. When the All-India National Congress met, they were, however, satisfied with claiming Dominion Status ; but at the same time they notified Government that, if the Nehru Report was rejected, they would have recourse to non-co-operation.[3]

In 1929, the All-India National Congress in its Lahore Session openly abandoned the cause of Dominion Status, claimed Independence, and sanctioned a campaign of Civil Disobedience including the non-payment of taxes, whether in selected or restricted areas.

3. Saving the Commission. Meanwhile the Viceroy left no means untried to save the Statutory Commission.

(a) *Round Table Conference Promised.* On 31st October, 1929, he made an important pronouncement with regard to India's constitutional future. He recognised that Dominion Status was the natural goal of India's political aspirations, and he promised that Indian political leaders should have an opportunity to express their views at a Round Table Conference to be held before the Report of the Statutory Commission was

[1] *India in 1927-1928*, pp. 60-63.

[2] *India in 1928-1229*, pp. 30 and 50. [3] *India in 1929-1930*, p. 95.

placed before Parliament. Accordingly the first Round Table Conference took place in London in November 1930.

(b) *The Confidential Despatch of* 1930. Besides this, as soon as the Statutory Commission's Report was published, the Government of India formulated their own opinions and recommendations, embodied in a despatch to be made known on the opening day of the Round Table Conference. In it the Viceroy and the members of his Council advocated the policy that the future constitution of India should be of such a nature as to establish partnership instead of subordination. They also fully subscribed to the ideal, hinted at in the Statutory Commission's Report, of an All-India Federation including not only British India but also the Indian States.[1]

This message greatly impressed the Rulers and representatives of the States, and brought about a surprising change in their attitude, owing to which the First Round Table Conference of 1930 became a first step towards the creation of the Federated Indian Provinces and States. It has been said that the Confidential Despatch of 1930 not only saved the Statutory Commission, but also paved the way for constitutional changes not thought of by the Commissioners.

(c) *Round Table Conference Held. First Session.* In accordance with the promise of 31st October, 1929, the Round Table Conference held its first session in London in November 1930.

(1) *Federation Scheme.* The most important feature of this meeting was the attitude of the Indian Rulers and the representatives of the Indian States towards the idea of Federation. The Statutory Commission had hinted at a Federated India as a wished-for but far-off

[1] *India in 1930-1931*, pp. 93, 95.

ideal. The Confidential Despatch had mentioned Federation as a workable administrative system. In the session of 1930 the Indian States openly favoured the Federation plan as the best solution of the intricate problem of India's future. Accordingly a Federal Relations Committee was appointed to examine the whole question.[1]

(2) *Communal Question.* But these successful beginnings were counteracted by the subsequent failure of the Conference to reach a satisfactory settlement on the communal question. Hindus and Muhammadans were hopelessly divided as regards the number of representatives each community should send to the legislative assemblies, whilst the Minorities were alive to the danger of seeing their interests quietly ignored.[2]

(3) *The Prime Minister's Speech.* Finally, on January 19, 1931, the Prime Minister made an important pronouncement, by which the Federation scheme received the full approval of Government, provision being made for safeguarding certain Imperial interests (Army and Finance) and the liberties and rights of the Minorities. The British Government were of opinion that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, Central and Provincial. This meant the granting of provincial and central autonomy.[3]

Conclusion. In spite of the Communal question difficulty, it was generally admitted that the Round Table Conference had succeeded beyond expectation.

III. CIVIL DISTURBANCES

1. Cause. A variety of factors conspired to bring about the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930. They

[1] *India in 1930-1931*, p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

have already been dealt with when describing the widespread opposition to the Statutory Commission. It is sufficient here for our purpose to add that, in accordance with the resolutions of the All-India National Congress in the Lahore Session of 1929, Mr. Gandhi left his *ashram* in Ahmedabad on 12th March, 1930, to walk to the sea-shore, there to inaugurate the campaign by breaking the Salt Laws. On 5th April, 1930, he reached Dandi beach, and on the next day salt was illegally prepared. The Civil Disobedience movement had begun.

2. **First Phase of the Movement.** The first phase of the movement extended from 6th April to 7th July, 1930. The amount of popular support which the movement received exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its leaders. With the exception of Assam and the Central Provinces, all the other Provinces were affected, whilst the movement attained its greatest success in Bombay. At the same time a number of serious disturbances, not due to communal hostility or labour disputes, occurred in about thirty different towns. These disturbances were varied in character: illicit manufacture of salt, organised raids on salt-pans, boycott of English goods, picketing of cloth and liquor shops, of schools and colleges, boycott of Government servants, refusal to pay taxes or land revenue and, at times, terrorist outrages.

To check the movement, Government imprisoned a large number of Congressmen, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru included, and promulgated six special Ordinances.

3. **Second Phase of the Movement.** By the beginning of July the movement had touched high-water mark, and during the next phase, extending from July to

November, 1930, it began to subside. During that period the excitement in the towns, except in Bombay, was on the wane, but the spirit of insubordination spread in the rural areas. There were mass demonstrations against the Forest Laws, and incendiary fires in various parts of the country obliterated in a few days the fruits of decades of careful conservation. There were several instances of people refusing payment of taxes and rents, Government servants were threatened, boycotted and ostracised, and there were about forty cases of public disturbances in various parts of the country, and a number of terrorist outrages. Nevertheless the promise of the Round Table Conference and the famous Despatch of October 1930 brought about a notable change. The Muhammadans and the Liberals gradually dissociated themselves more and more from the movement, and favoured the cause of an Indian Federation with Dominion Status.

4. **Third Phase of the Movement.** The third phase of the movement extended from November 1930 to March 1931. The Congressmen succeeded in maintaining the boycott and the social pressure in support of it. But their leadership no longer met with the same response on the part of the masses. However, serious disorders and activities of a terrorist nature continued. It was only towards the beginning of March, 1931, that the position improved.

5. **The Delhi Pact.** This improvement was due to an agreement reached between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi on the 4th March, 1931. According to this agreement, which is known as the Delhi Pact, Civil Disobedience was to be effectively discontinued as regards several of its activities, notably: (*a*) the organised defiance of the law, (*b*) the campaign against the payment of land

revenue, (*c*) the publication of writings in support of Civil Disobedience, (*d*) the movement for persuading Government officials to resign their posts, (*e*) the boycott of British goods by way of encouraging political agitation.

On the other hand Government made the following concessions : (*a*) the release of prisoners whose activities in the cause of Civil Disobedience had not involved violence, (*b*) the remission of fines not yet paid and of any forfeitures of securities which had not yet taken place, (*c*) the withdrawal of the additional police which had been employed in particular areas at the expense of the inhabitants, (*d*) permission to the poorer residents in villages immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made, to collect or make salt for their use or for sale within such villages. These mutual concessions were meant to inaugurate a truce between Government and Congress.

6. **Conclusion.** The Civil Disobedience movement was a two-edged sword. Government had to strain every nerve to keep the wheels of administration running, and on the whole succeeded in preventing a collapse of the conduct and system of administration. On the other hand many private individuals, shopkeepers, merchants, traders, were reduced to a state of helpless inactivity ; and the general world-wide depression was accentuated by the closing of the share markets and the suppression of commerce and trade.

7. **In Burma.** In Burma the civil disturbances were in the nature of open rebellion. They were provoked, not only by the distress among the agricultural classes, but by unconstitutional agitation; probably connected with the proposal that Burma should be separated from

India, as recommended by the members of the Statutory Commission in their Report. The rebellion started on 22nd December, 1930, and it was not till October, 1931, that order was restored. By that time the casualties inflicted on the rebel side were estimated to amount to 3000 killed and wounded.[1]

IV. THE SARDA ACT

A study of the events that took place during Lord Irwin's tenure of office would be incomplete if no mention were made of the Child-Marriage Bill.

1. Occasion. After the publication of Mrs. Mayo's book *Mother India* and the various rejoinders to it, the Hindu custom of child-marriage became a question of world-wide interest. The following are the statistics of the Census of 1921 :

Hindu Widows	
Less than 12 months old	612
Between 1 and 2 years	498
Between 2 and 3 years	1280
Between 3 and 4 years	2868
Between 4 and 5 years	6758
Total under 5 years	12,016
Between 5 and 10 years	85,580
Between 10 and 15 yrs.	233,533
Total under 15 years	331,129

Hindu Married Women	
Under 5 years	14 out of 1000
Under 10 years	111 out of 1000
Under 15 years	437 out of 1000

Accordingly, in 1927, Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda proposed a bill prohibiting marriages of girls below the age of 12 and boys below the age of 15. The Bill was referred to a special committee, and roused a good deal of interest and opposition.

The Bill was originally meant to check the evil of

[1] *India in 1930-1931*, pp. 129-137.

child-marriage among Hindus, but in course of time it underwent considerable changes; and when it was passed as the Sarda Act, it had taken the form of a penal measure, affecting not only Hindus but all communities in India, and making marriage contracts between boys under 18 and girls under 14 an offence punishable by law.

SUMMARY

I. Religious Dissensions

Causes. Processions, the slaughter of cows, rumours, insignificant happenings.

Events. Disturbances leading to affrays, riot, murder, incendiarism; in 18 months more than 250 killed, 2500 injured.

Remedy. A toleration crusade, the 1927 Bill.

II. Administrative Reforms

Government's Proposal: Appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission to further the cause of self-government.

Political Parties' Opposition: The boycott of the Commission, the Nehru Report.

Government's Policy: Appointment of the Round Table Conference, the Confidential Despatch of 1930, the Round Table Conference.

III. Civil Disturbances

Causes: Widespread opposition to the Statutory Commission, the anti-Salt Laws campaign.

Events: (A) (April-July 1930) Civil Disobedience everywhere, except in Assam and the Central Provinces; disturbances in thirty different towns; many Congressmen imprisoned and six special Ordinances promulgated. (B) (July-October 1930) Excitement on the wane in towns, but in rural areas forest incendiarism, non-payment of land revenue, boycott of Government servants, forty cases of disturbances. (C) (November 1930-March 1931) Maintenance of boycott, continuance of disturbances, improvement in March 1931. *N.B.*—From December 1930 to October 1931 open rebellion in Burma.

IV. Sarda Act

Occasion : The evils of child-marriages.

Sarda Act : Marriage contracts between boys under 18 and girls under 14 constitute a punishable offence.

QUESTIONS

1. Lord Irwin's term of office was a period of many disturbances, religious, political, civil. Give an account of these. (I. 2 ; II. 2 ; III. 2-4.)

2. Write a note on the Non-co-operation Campaign during Lord Irwin's term of office. (III.)

3. Write a note on the Statutory Commission, mentioning its appointment, its purpose, the attempt to wreck it, the attempt to save it. (II. 1, A-B ; 2 ; 3.)

4. Give a brief account of the First Session of the Round Table Conference. (II. 3. C.)

5. Mention the chief recommendations made by the Statutory Commission. (I. 1-3.)

6. Show the political importance of the Confidential Despatch of 1930 (II. 3, b).

7. Write a note on the Sarda Act. (IV.)

No. 8.—THE EARL OF WILLINGDON, 1931-1936

When the Earl of Willingdon came to India as Viceroy on the 18th April, 1931, he had a knowledge of the country and a record of administrative experience which few, if any, of his predecessors in the viceregal office could claim. He had been Governor of Bombay (1913-1918) and of Madras (1919-1924) and Governor-General of Canada (1926-1931). Since the great movement for Indian constitutional reform was now in the last stages of its evolution, no more competent guide could have been chosen to direct the activities of those who were elaborating India's new constitutional status.

This Viceroy's administration was characterised by a vigorous prosecution of the constitutional policy inaugurated by the promise of 1917, and by the determined repression of disturbances. Another feature of his term of office was the strife between the rival political parties and the emergence of new political bodies destined to play an important part in the future history of this country.

Plan

1. Constitutional Reforms.
2. Disturbances.
3. Political Parties.

I. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

During the Earl of Willingdon's tenure of office attempts continued to be made to solve the problem of Constitutional Reforms, as is evidenced by the Second Round Table Conference, the Communal Award, the Poona Pact, the Third Round Table Conference, the White Paper, and the Government of India Act of 1935.

The Second Round Table Conference. In order that the Second Round Table Conference might not be decried by Congress workers, the Viceroy tried his utmost to persuade Mr. Gandhi to attend it as a representative of the Congress. At the very last moment he succeeded in doing so, and Mr. Gandhi hastened to London.

The Second Round Table Conference lasted from the 7th September, 1931, to the 1st December, 1931, but in many respects its results were disappointing. First of all, the work of the Conference was consistently

hampered because England was at the time in the throes of a general election, which made it impossible for those British delegates who were members of the House of Commons to give their full attention to the Conference. In the second place, every question of federal importance was shelved, and the delegates concentrated mainly on communal representation. The Muhammadans and the other minorities proved adamant in insisting on their claims. Mr. Gandhi would only grant separate electorates to the Muhammadans, the Sikhs, and the Europeans ; he held that the Depressed Classes should be considered as Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar, the spokesman for the Depressed Classes, was of a contrary opinion. Informal conversations and formal meetings were of no avail ; no settlement was reached. At the close of the Session the Prime Minister reaffirmed that the British Government meant to go on with its policy of granting India federal responsibility.

The only progressive step towards federal reform was the decision that three Committees should be sent to India :

(1) The Franchise Committee, under Lord Lothian,

(2) The Federal Finance Committee, under Lord Eustace Percy,

(3) The Indian States Enquiry Commission, under Mr. Davidson.

2. *The Communal Award.* On the 16th August, 1932, the Prime Minister settled the thorny question of separate electorates which the Second Round Table Conference had failed to solve.

Separate electorates are granted to Muhammadans, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans. The Depressed Classes, whilst voting as a rule in Hindu constituencies, will have for a period of 20 years a number of special seats in those areas where their voters chiefly prevail. Provision is made for special seats for women. Labour seats will be filled from non-communal constituencies.

According to the terms of the award, seats are not allotted according to ratio of population. In Provinces where Hindus are in the majority they are given a clear majority in the Provincial Councils, but the number of seats allotted to the Muhammadans is, as in the past, in excess of their population ratio. In Bengal, where Muhammadans and Hindus form respectively about 55 and 43 per cent. of the population, the former receive 48 and the latter 39 per cent. of the seats, 10 seats being given to Europeans. In the Punjab the Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs form respectively 57, 27, and 13 per cent. of the population, and the seats are distributed in the ratio of 49, 27, and 18 per cent., three additional landlord seats going to the Muhammadans.

3. *The Poona Pact.* On the 13th September, Mr. Gandhi, who strongly opposed separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, declared his intention to fast to death, unless the methods of representation for the Depressed Classes were altered. He began his fast on the 20th September, but on the 26th September he broke it after Government had signified their willingness that the Depressed Classes, instead of being allotted 71 seats on the basis of separate electorates, should be given 148 seats from the general constituencies.

4. *The Third Round Table Conference.* It opened on

the 17th November, 1932, and closed on the 24th December, 1932. The membership was a more compact body than at the two previous sessions, and there was a more conciliatory atmosphere among the delegates. The delegates had also at their disposal the reports of different commissions and committees, so that they could work to a fixed agenda. They were thus able to come to an agreement on many important problems, and supplied much material for the constitutional proposals to be ultimately submitted to Parliament. Most of these proposals were embodied in the White Paper.

5. *The White Paper*, published on the 17th March, 1933, may be summarised as follows :

The Federation is to consist of eleven Provinces (the nine existing ones, Sind, and Orissa) and of those Indian States desirous of joining it.

The constituent parts of the Federation will be autonomous units ; so that Provincial dyarchy is to be replaced by Provincial autonomy. All the departments are to be entrusted to the Governor advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

At the centre, the Executive Council will be responsible to the Federal All-India Legislature in all departments of administration except Defence and External and Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Federal Legislature will be bicameral, with an Upper and a Lower Chamber.

The Governor-General will be given special powers of intervention, to safeguard the provision of resources for the reserved departments, to preserve financial stability, to protect the legitimate interests of the minorities and the Services, and to defend the rights of the Indian States.

The White Paper roused widespread comment, much

of which was decidedly unfavourable. In the Legislatures it was repeatedly asserted that unless the scheme as a whole was substantially amended, it would not secure general acceptance. Elsewhere the White Paper was unreservedly denounced as altogether unworthy of acceptance because it fell short of the ideal to which Congress and its followers had committed themselves. The scheme of constitutional reform was further discussed by the members of the Joint Parliamentary Commission, whose report of the 23rd November, 1934, was a document of the greatest importance because its recommendations were to be closely followed in drawing up the Act establishing India's new constitution.

The Government of India Act of 1935. The various constitutional reforms were condensed in the Government of India Bill, which after receiving the royal assent became the Government of India Act of 1935.

The Viceroy in July, 1936, laid stress on the following main features of the new constitution: (1) The Act consolidates the whole of India, British India and Indian States, for the purpose of their common concerns, under a single Government of India. The achievement of this unifying legislative enactment has been the result of long and continued efforts, finally crowned with success. (2) The Government of India under the new constitution will draw their authority by direct evolution from the Crown, just as the Dominion Governments do. This direct dependence on the Crown is the best augury for the full attainment by India of the political status which the more developed of His Majesty's Dominions enjoy.

A detailed account of the various clauses of this Act is given in the concluding section of this book (Indian Administration No. 3).

II. DISTURBANCES

The disturbances which occurred at various times and in different parts of the country during Lord Willingdon's tenure of office may be grouped as Communal, Economic, and Political.

1. *Communal Disturbances.* It would serve no useful purpose to speak at any length of the causes of the communal disturbances ; for these periodic outbreaks of violence, their suddenness and their frequency, cannot be adequately accounted for. In most cases communal clashes are occasioned by some trivial incident, and the loss of life and property is out of all proportion to the initial cause. What is equally disconcerting is that there is no saying what may happen when a communal riot breaks out, or when it may end.[1]

2. *Economic Disturbances.* (*a*) In the United Provinces acute distress prevailed among the cultivators and the landlords, because the surplus produce either could not be sold or could be sold only at very low prices, so that the tenants did not know how to pay their rents to the landlords, whilst the latter found it equally difficult to pay the land tax ; rents and revenues were uppermost in the minds of all. Government at

[1] N. B. Mitra, *The Annual Register*, 1931, i. During the period under consideration communal outbursts occurred : in 1932 in Cawnpore, Dhanbad (Bengal), Amritsar District, Srinagar and Lahore ; in 1932 in Bombay and Alwar ; in 1933-1934 in Benares, Cawnpore, Lahore, Peshawar, Ajodhya, Boghalpore, Cannanore, Delhi ; in 1935 in Hazaribagh, Firozabad, Lahore, Bihar, and Secundarabad. The number of these disturbances was abnormally high, even when every allowance has been made for India's far-reaching territories and vast population.

As a rule the suppression of these outbreaks was left to the Provincial Government within whose area they took place. Occasionally the Central Government stepped in to provide the Province with special powers to deal with the situation.

first sanctioned a remission of land revenue of 68 lakhs, involving a remission of rent of 2½ crores ; later on the remissions were repeatedly increased to 109 lahks and 4,10 crores. But the tenants were not satisfied : they refused to pay rents, they opposed legal action to enforce payment, they resisted authority, and defied the zamindars, some of whom were assaulted and others killed. The situation worsened considerably when a no-rent campaign was started in four districts. Thereupon the United Provinces Emergency Powers Ordinance was promulgated, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on the 26th December, 1931.

(*b*) In the North-West Frontier Province similar economic conditions prevailed, and a campaign of the Red Shirts in favour of non-payment of taxes and rents met with a ready response. Little by little the agrarian movement assumed distinctive military features, and the Red Shirts had their camps, their manoeuvres, their parades. Their leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was arrested on the 24th December, 1931, certain ordinances were promulgated, and the Peshawar District came under military occupation.

(*c*) In Gujarat there was likewise a good deal of agrarian discontent. The inhabitants of Bardoli taluk demanded that the confiscated lands should be unconditionally returned, even though they had been sold to third parties. This request was not complied with. The people were accordingly loath to pay the land tax, let alone the arrears of revenue that stood against their names.

3. *Political Disturbances.* On several occasions outbreaks of violence followed in the wake of the activities of Congress workers. It may be expedient to give here a general outline of the political proceedings

of the Congress and to mention the disturbances that may have resulted therefrom.

(*a*) *The Charge-Sheets.* The Delhi Pact of the 4th March, 1931, was not destined to be the beginning of friendly relations between Government and Congress. The measures taken by Government to deal with the agrarian unrest in the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province caused widespread resentment. The discontent was increased by the famous charge-sheets of July, 1931, purporting to be 79 specific instances in which Government had failed to observe the Delhi Pact.

(*b*) *The Second Settlement.* Mr. Gandhi at first insisted on the formation of an arbitration tribunal to inquire into these charges, and threatened that he would not attend the Second Round Table Conference unless Government granted this request. Evidently the spirit of conciliation prevailed, and the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi came to an agreement, which is generally known as the Second Settlement.

Under the Second Settlement (28th August, 1931) Mr. Gandhi consented to attend the Second Round Table Conference, the Delhi Pact was to remain operative, the grievances of the inhabitants of Bandoli were to be inquired into, and further complaints against the Delhi Pact were immediately taken up by the Local Governments concerned.

(*c*) *Revival of Civil Disobedience.* The Second Settlement proved as ineffectual in bringing about peace as the Delhi Pact. Mr. Gandhi's return from the Second Round Table Conference, on the 28th December, 1931, put an end to the truce between Government and Congress. The various ordinances promulgated in connection with the agrarian troubles in the northern pro-

vinces were described as legalised Government terrorism, to meet which the Congress threatened to renew Civil Disobedience.

When the threat was carried out, Government promulgated four new ordinances: (*a*) the Emergency Powers Ordinance, directed against publications in support of Civil Disobedience; (*b*) the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, dealing with non-tax campaigns; (*c*) the Unlawful Association Ordinance, aiming at Congress buildings and funds; (*d*) the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance, to punish picketing and interference with public servants. At the same time Mr. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested.

Civil Disobedience activities consisted mainly of the picketing of cloth shops in towns, the celebration of particular days and weeks—Independence Day, Gandhi Day, National Week, Postal Week—and non-militant boycott of British goods, which proved to be the most successful feature of the campaign.

The operation of these ordinances was to a great extent the undoing of the revival of Civil Disobedience. Arrests and convictions were made unsparingly: 14,803 in January, 1931; 17,818 in February; 6,909 in March. By the end of March the Civil Disobedience movement had declined considerably, as may be gathered from the steady decrease in convictions from month to month, until in December, 1932, the number had fallen to 1,545.

(*d*) *Mr. Gandhi's First Fast.* It was during this decline that, on the occasion of the Communal Award, Mr. Gandhi surprised his countrymen by announcing, on the 13th September, 1932, that he would fast to death unless the decision to grant separate electorates to the Depressed Classes was withdrawn. The fast

began on the 20th September, and was given up on the 27th September after Government had signified their willingness to modify the representation of the Depressed Classes according to the terms of the Poona Settlement. This was a personal triumph for Mr. Gandhi, but at the same time it served the purpose of relegating the revival of Civil Disobedience to the background, and such activities were at a low ebb during the rest of the year.

(*e*) *Suppression of Civil Disobedience.* In the course of the year 1933 the Civil Disobedience movement was further weakened by Mr. Gandhi's temporary withdrawal from politics, when on the 1st of May he informed Government that he intended to start a fast for reasons wholly unrelated with Government and connected solely with the Harijan movement. He was therefore set free by Government, and one of his first acts was to persuade the acting President of the Congress to suspend Civil Disobedience for six weeks. Mr. Gandhi broke his twenty-one days' fast on the 29th May, but by that time there were some who urged that the Civil Disobedience campaign should now be abandoned, and the period of suspension was extended by another six weeks.

(*f*) *Individual Civil Disobedience.* In July, 1933, Mr. Gandhi practically put an end to the Civil Disobedience campaign by launching in its stead individual Civil Disobedience, *i.e.* Disobedience practised by private individuals without direction from the Congress leaders and on their own responsibility. To further this new venture Mr. Gandhi contemplated marching from Ahmadabad to the village of Ras in Kaira District, urging the people on the way to join the new movement. But Government, mindful of the former march to the

seashore in 1930, frustrated the attempt by arresting Mr. Gandhi, who was condemned to one year's simple imprisonment. After he had been lodged in jail, Mr. Gandhi started yet another fast on the 16th August on the plea that his activities in the cause of the Harijans had been unduly interfered with. A week later, when his condition was considered to be dangerous, he was released for medical reasons. Thus individual Civil Disobedience proved a failure, and a last attempt by Jawaharlal Nehru to revive the movement in September, 1933, was confined to the United Provinces and was short-lived. Finally on the 7th April, 1934, Mr. Gandhi signed the death-warrant of Civil Disobedience when he issued a message that "In future no Congressman except myself shall practise Civil Disobedience."

4. *Terrorist Disturbances.* The peace of the country was also disturbed by the unlawful activities of private individuals who engaged in terrorism. The centre of terroristic disturbances has always been Bengal, but from time to time they occurred in North-Western India, in the Madras Presidency, and Assam. They usually took the form of attempted murders, actual murders, and dacoities. The ordinary law of the country did not always prove equal to deal with those crimes and was occasionally supplemented by valuable Ordinances.

III. POLITICAL PARTIES

From 1932 to 1936 political parties increased in number and membership, nor were they indolent in the prosecution of their designs. The most important of them are connected with the names of two great

political leaders, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

(*a*) *Mr. Gandhi and the Harijans.* When the Depressed Classes were granted separate electorates by the Communal Award Mr. Gandhi, fearing lest they should be lost to Hinduism, started his campaign in favour of the Harijans. As Hinduism is largely based on ceremonial purity in matters of diet, marriage, and worship, Mr. Gandhi was anxious to do away with the invidious distinctions between Hindus and Harijans, and he started his temple-entry campaign.

He succeeded in persuading a number of his followers to join with him, but there were many more who opposed the movement. An attempt to obtain the end in view by a legislative enactment ended in failure. The Temple-Entry Bill met with overwhelming opposition in the Legislative Assembly and had to be withdrawn on the 23rd August, 1934.

The social disabilities of the Depressed Classes remain practically the same as before, but they are no longer accepted without demur. As yet these classes do not form a distinct political party, for they have not yet made up their mind whether they will give their allegiance to the Hindus or secede from them.

(*b*) *Jawaharlal Nehru.* Like other Congressmen, Pandit Nehru aims at securing independence, including full military and economic control within the country and the direction of India's foreign relations. Where he differs from them is in his programme of economic reform, of which one of the essential features is the improvement of the economic conditions of the masses. He regards as essential to this a redistribution of wealth, which would be attained at the expense of

existing vested interests, represented by the British Government, the Indian Princes, and the moneyed and well-to-do classes.

SUMMARY

I. Constitutional Reforms

Second Round Table Conference: impaired by general election in Great Britain and the Depressed Classes controversy.

Communal Award: Electorates for all, the number of seats not allotted according to ratio of population.

Third Round Table Conference: Responsible for much useful material for future constitution.

White Paper: Federation to consist of eleven Provinces and the Indian States; independent Provincial government by Governor and Ministers; the Central Executive responsible to the bicameral All-India Legislature.

Government of India Act: British India and Indian States united under one Government (*see* Indian Administration).

II. Disturbances

Communal: Trivial causes, disastrous effects.

Economic: Rents and revenue trouble in the U.P.; Red Shirts' agrarian agitation in N.W. Frontier Province; dissatisfaction at Bardoli in Gujarat.

Political: Charge-Sheets allegations; peaceful settlement; Gandhi goes to London; his return followed by revival of Civil Disobedience.

Terrorism: The work of misguided extremists.

III. Political Parties

Mr. Gandhi and the Harijans.

Jawaharlal Nehru's programme of economic reform.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of the last stages in Indian constitutional reform during the Earl of Willingdon's term of office. (I. 1-6.)

2. What disturbances broke out while the Earl of Willingdon was Viceroy, and how were they dealt with? (II. 1-4.)

3. Write a note on Mr. Gandhi and the Harijans. (III. 1.)

4. What is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's programme of economic reform? (III. *b*.)

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

No. 1.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I. INDIA A BRITISH DEPENDENCY

THE British Empire is composed of Great Britain, the Irish Free State, self-governing colonies, and dependencies. India is a dependency.

The Regulating Act of 1774, Pitt's India Bill of 1784, and the Parliamentary Acts of 1813, 1833, 1853, and 1858 made India a British dependency (*see page* 371).

II. INDIAN ADMINISTRATION FROM 1833 TO 1919

The following are the leading features of Indian administration previous to the year 1921, when the Government of India Bill came into force.

(1) In 1833 Indians became eligible to public offices and employments.

(2) In 1861 (Canning) were sown the first seeds of representative institutions. An Imperial Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Assemblies were established. Furthermore, Government said: "Let us see what a few Indians *of our own choice* have to say about our laws." Accordingly, a few Indians were admitted to the Legislative bodies with the express purpose of voicing Indian opinion.

(3) In 1892 (Lansdowne) a further step was taken in the direction of associating Indians with the business of legislation. Government said, "Let us hear what a few Indians *chosen by the Indians themselves* have to say

about our laws." Accordingly, the various legislative councils were enlarged; and the right of election was conferred on the Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Landlords, and Municipalities.

(4) In 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms) a further extension was made to associate Indians with the business of legislation, when Government formally adopted the principle of elective representation. The Imperial Legislative Council was enlarged, and now consisted of the members of the Imperial Executive Council and sixty additional members, of whom twenty-seven were to be elected. Similarly, the provincial legislative councils were enlarged to a maximum of fifty additional members, and Government took the risk of abandoning the official majority in the provincial councils.

(5) Further important steps in the history of Indian administration were the promise of 1917, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and the Government of India Bill of 1919 (*see page* 400).

No. 2.—INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AFTER 1919

The Government of every country is divided into *Central* and *Local* Governments; the former looks after matters concerning the whole of the country (railways, post, and telegraph); the latter looks after matters concerning a part of the country (education, roads).

I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Central or Imperial Government of India is divided into the Imperial Government *out of India*, or the Home Government, and the Imperial Government *in India*.

A. The Home Government consists of (1) the King and the two Houses of Parliament, (2) the Secretary of State for India, (3) the India Council, and (4) the High Commissioner.

1. *The King and the two Houses of Parliament* are vested with supreme executive and legislative power; but in practice the British Parliament only supervises the Government of India. By the Act of 1919 Parliament's interest in Indian affairs has been considerably awakened. Standing Committees have been established to keep the British Parliament informed of all matters relating to India. Moreover, the salary of the Secretary of State and the expenses of his department are to be borne by the British Exchequer, and must therefore come before Parliament for annual sanction.

2. *The Secretary of State for India* is the direct descendant of the Board of Control, and has likewise all the powers of the Board of Directors. He practically rules India on behalf of the British Parliament. He has the power to give orders to every officer in India; and his instructions have to be accepted and followed even by the Viceroy.

He is a Cabinet Minister, and is primarily responsible to the Prime Minister, who can procure his dismissal. He has moreover to hand in a yearly report to Parliament and to answer the questions of individual members.

Finally, by the Act of 1919 his salary and the charges of his department are paid out of the British Revenues; and he has to frame rules to restrict his own powers of superintendence and control of Indian affairs.

2. *The India Council* assists the Secretary of State with its advice. Except in money matters the Secretary

of State is not bound to follow this advice. Yet the India Council is very influential.

It now consists of not less than eight and not more than twelve members, three of whom are Indians. Half of the members must have lived in India for at least ten years, and at the time of their appointment must not have been away from India more than five years. The establishment in London of the Secretary of State and of the India Council is called the India Office.

4. *The High Commissioner.* Prior to the Act of 1919 the India Office was entrusted with all matters that concerned India, with political transactions, with the agency business, and with commercial transactions. But by the Act of 1919 the agency business and commercial transactions were entrusted to the High Commissioner, to whose province it belongs to borrow money, purchase stores, make contracts, and superintend the payment of pensions and the welfare of Indian students abroad. His salary and the charges of his office are to be paid out of the revenues of India.

B. The Imperial Government in India consists of (1) the Viceroy, (2) the Executive Council, (3) and (4) the two Legislative Houses—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

1. The Governor-General is the immediate ruler of India ; he is supreme over all Governors and officials in India, and his chief duty consists in supervising the work of the various provincial governments.

He is appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister ; yet he chiefly depends on the Secretary of State for India, whose instructions he has to follow. Whenever the Secretary of State is a masterful personality, the Viceroy either has to allow himself to be overruled, or

has to resign. He has full power in dealing with the native states, and like the King can commute sentences passed by Courts of Law.

2. The Executive Council helps the Viceroy to administer India. The work of administration is divided departmentally into :

(a) The Foreign and Political Department : Foreign policy, frontier tribes, and native states.	The Viceroy.
(b) The Home Department : Internal administration, police, etc.	The Home Member.
(c) Railways and Commerce : Trade and shipping, ports, railways.	The Member for Commerce.
(d) Industries and Labour : Industries, labour, public works, posts and telegraphs, communications.	The Member for Industries and Labour.
(e) The Legislative Department : Supervision of legislative bodies, the making and modification of laws.	The Law Member.
(f) The Army Department : The Army.	The Commander-in-Chief.
(g) The Education, Health, and Lands Department : Education, sanitation, famine relief, agriculture, land revenue, etc.	The Member for Education, Health, and Lands.
(h) The Finance Department : Supervision of expenditure, taxation, currency, etc.	The Finance Member.

In all matters of minor importance the Members act on their own initiative, but important matters are referred to the Council, the Viceroy not being bound to follow its advice. Thd Viceroy and his Executive Councillors are known as the Governor-General in Council. There are three Indians in the Executive Council.

3. *The Council of State* is the Upper Legislative

House entrusted with the framing of laws affecting India as a whole on central subjects. It consists of sixty members, of whom thirty-three are elected by voters who are British subjects, twenty-one years of age, and paying a land assessment of Rs. 2,000 a year, or an income-tax on an income of Rs. 30,000 a year. Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Municipalities, Fellows of Universities, and owners of a whole village have also a vote.

4. *The Legislative Assembly* is the Lower Legislative House entrusted with the framing of laws affecting India as a whole on central subjects. It consists of 145 members, of whom 104 are elected by voters who are British subjects, twenty-one years of age, and paying a land revenue of Rs. 75 a year, or an income-tax.

N.B.—The Work of Legislation. In connection with the Legislative Houses some explanation has to be added in order to make clear how the work of legislation is carried on.

When a Bill has to be passed, first of all leave must be obtained to introduce it. After leave has been granted, the Bill is printed, circulated among the members, and formally introduced. Then the Bill is either referred to a select committee, or dealt with directly by all the members of the Legislative body. Amendments are proposed; and finally the Bill is either rejected or passed.

Furthermore, as there are two Legislative Houses, the proceeding is as follows:

Private Bills have first to pass through the Legislative House of which the mover of the Bill is a member. They are afterwards referred to the other Legislative House; differences of opinion being settled by a joint session of the two Houses. In the case of all private

Bills the Governor-General and the Crown retain their respective powers of assent, reservation, or disallowance.

Government Bills have, as a rule, first to pass through the Legislative Assembly, afterwards to be dealt with by the Council of State. But if the Legislative Assembly rejects a Bill, and if the Governor-General in Council certifies that the Bill is essential to the good of the realm, he can refer it to and have it passed through the Council of State, afterwards merely reporting it to the Legislative Assembly. The same procedure may be adopted in cases of emergency. If the Legislative Assembly passes the Bill, and if the Council of State makes amendments unacceptable to the Assembly, the Bill is subjected to a joint session of the two Houses, unless the Governor-General in Council certifies that the amended Bill is essential to the good of the realm ; in which case the Assembly has not the power of rejecting an amendment that meets with Government's approval. As a last resort, the Governor-General has the power to dismiss the two Legislative Houses.

II. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A. The Bombay Presidency

The chief provincial authorities are (1) the Governor, (2) the Provincial Executive, (3) the Legislative Council, (4) the Commissioner, (5) the Collector, (6) the Sub-divisional Officer.

1. *The Governor* is at the head of the Provincial administration ; he is appointed for five years and is responsible to the Viceroy, whose instructions he has to follow ; the Commissioners and Collectors are under his direct control.

2. *The Provincial Executive* consists of two sections : (*a*) The Governor and his official colleagues, or the

Governor in Council (in Bombay two members out of four are Indians) ; (*b*) The Indian Ministers.

The Governor and his official colleagues are entrusted with that part of provincial administration called the reserved subjects (irrigation, land-revenue, etc.), whilst the Indian Ministers are entrusted with that part of provincial administration called the transferred subjects (education, sanitation, etc.).

This division of the Provincial Executive into two sections is called *Dyarchy*. It must, however, gradually disappear, for, if the scheme works satisfactorily, the list of transferred subjects is to be periodically increased, till at last complete provincial self-government is attained.

As to the working of the Provincial Executive, each section works independently, except in important matters, when the two sections meet for joint deliberation. The Indian Ministers are chosen from the Legislative Council, to which they are responsible, and by which they can be compelled to resign. As a last resort the Governor can also dismiss the Ministers.

3. *The Provincial Legislature* is the Legislative Council, of whose members 70 per cent. are elected by British subjects, twenty years of age, and occupying a house of which the annual rental is 120 rupees, or paying an income-tax. The number of the members varies according to the provinces (in Bombay 111 members).

The power of the Legislative Council does not extend either to imperial or provincial reserved subjects. Furthermore, if the Governor certifies that a Bill is essential to the good of the province, the Legislative Council cannot reject the Bill, though they may discuss it and propose amendments approved of by Govern-

ment; neither can they pass a Bill which the Governor certifies as incompatible with the good of the province. The Legislative Council has also the power to discuss the provincial budget, which will be altered according to its resolutions, except in the case of reserved subjects, when the Governor certifies that the allotment is necessary. Every Bill must be sanctioned by the Governor of the province and by the Governor-General.

4. *The Commissioner* is at the head of a division which consists of several districts. He supervises the work of Collectors, and gives them instructions about the administration of the districts. He is responsible to the Governor, to whom he must report, and whose instructions he has to follow.

5. *The Collector* is at the head of a district; he looks after the details of administration; and, as he is constantly in touch with the people, his office is most important. He is responsible for the collection of land-revenue and other taxes, for the keeping of land records and of registers, for the administration of criminal justice, education, and forests. The Collector is assisted by a District Board; its members are partly elected and partly appointed, and give him advice and information about what takes place in the district.

6. *The Sub-Divisional Officer* is at the head of a sub-division of a district or Taluka. His duties are similar to those of the Collector, to whom he has to report, and whose instructions he has to follow. The Sub-Divisional Officer is assisted by a Taluka Board; its members are partly elected and partly nominated, and give him advice and information about what takes place in the Taluka.

B. The Other Eight Provinces

Bengal, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Assam and Burma have the same system of local administration as Bombay.

The following points should, however, be noted. The Governors of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay are appointed direct from England by the Crown; they have the right to communicate direct with the Secretary of State, and can appeal to him against the Governor-General. The Governors of the other six provinces are appointed by the King in consultation with the Governor-General, and are more dependent on the Governor-General. Moreover, there are no Commissioners in the Madras Presidency.

C. The Remaining Six Provinces

(1) The Province of Delhi and (2) The N.W. Frontier Province are administered by a Chief-Commissioner without a Council, practically appointed by the Governor-General, and under his direct control. (3) British Baluchistan and (4) Ajmer-Merwara are administered by an Agent to the Governor-General, practically appointed by the Governor-General, and under his direct control. (5) Coorg is administered by the Resident of Mysore. (6) The Andamans are administered by the Superintendent of Penal Settlements of Port Blair.

No. 3.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

N.B.—Definitions. (*a*) *The Act of* 1935. It is the Act by which the Federation of India will be established and proclaimed.

(*b*) *A Federation.* A federation is that form of government in which two or more States constitute a political union (*i.e.* one body or whole) remaining independent as to their internal affairs, as for example the Confederation of the forty-eight States of the United States of America. A federation implies, therefore, a twofold system of government—the federal or central government of the political union, and the local government of the constituent parts of that union.

(*c*) *The Federation of India.* It is the political union under a federal or central government of (1) the Governors' Provinces, (2) the Chief Commissioners' Provinces, and (3) the Indian States.

(1) *The Governors' Provinces,* or Provinces with a Governor as their administrative head, are eleven in number: Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa, and Sind.

N.B.—Two new Provinces have been created: Sind and Orissa. Notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of the ruler of Berar, the Central Provinces and Berar constitute one Governor's Province, under the name of the Central Provinces and Berar. Burma is separated from India.

(2) *The Chief Commissioners' Provinces, i.e.* the Provinces under a Chief Commissioner, are: British Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and the area known as Panth Piploda.

N.B.—Aden ceases to be a part of India.

(3) *The Indian States.* They are free to join the Federation. Before the Federation of India can be

established and proclaimed a certain number of States must signify their willingness to join it, viz. such a number of States that their population is not less than half of the aggregate population of all the Indian States, so that they are entitled to claim half the number of seats (52 out of 104) allowed to all the Indian States in the Council of State or Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature.

(*d*) *Governor-General and Viceroy.* The Governor-General is the head of the Federal Executive; he also exercises the functions of the Crown in its relations to the Indian States as regards non-federal matters. He continues to be called Viceroy, the term, however, being merely ceremonial.

I. THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

A. **The Federal Executive.** It consists of a Governor-General and a Council of Ministers and a few Counsellors.

(1) *The Governor-General.* In the exercise of his office he has ordinary powers, involving special responsibilities, and residual powers.

(*a*) *Ordinary Powers.* He chooses his Ministers, who hold office during his pleasure. He summons the Chambers, prorogues the Chambers, dissolves the Federal Assembly. He may address the Chambers or send messages to them. He may assent to a bill passed by the Federal Legislature, withhold his assent, return the bill with suggested amendments, or reserve a bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure. He may commute or remit sentence of death. In

the exercise of his ordinary powers he must act as a constitutional monarch.

(b) *Special Responsibilities.* The special responsibilities, which are inseparable from the ordinary powers, are the following: On his appointment by the King, he is given an Instrument of Instructions, containing directions as to the way in which he is to exercise his functions. He is also specially commissioned to secure the preservation of peace, to safeguard federal financial stability, to safeguard the interests of the minorities, of members of the Public Services, and of the Ruling Princes, to prevent discrimination against individuals or bodies exempt from the operation of Federal and Provincial laws, to prevent commercial discrimination against Burma and the United Kingdom and detrimental discrimination against British subjects in those countries, to prevent Federal interference with the Governor-General's special powers.

He is entrusted with the Reserved Departments of Defence, External Affairs, and Ecclesiastical Affairs, which he administers with the assistance of three Counsellors chosen by him and not responsible to the Legislature though they may belong to it. In the exercise of his special powers the Governor-General is to use his own discretion, but is responsible to the Secretary of State.

(c) *Residual Powers.* In extreme cases he may promulgate ordinances during the recess of the Legislature and also at any time with regard to certain subjects; or he may enact Governor-

General's Acts, or he may issue Proclamations by which he can alter the Constitution and increase his powers, in cases where he finds that such a step is necessary to maintain the stability of Government. In the exercise of his residual powers he is responsible to the Secretary of State and the Houses of Parliament.

(2) *The Council of Ministers.* The members must not exceed ten in number and must include representatives of the Indian States and of important minorities. They hold office during the Governor-General's pleasure and are chosen by the Governor-General from among the members of the Council of State or the Federal Assembly, which are the two Houses of the Federal Legislature. A Minister who for six months is not a member of either House ceases to be a Minister at the expiration of that period. They are in charge of all the Federal departments with the exception of the reserved subjects and other items coming under the Governor-General's special and residual powers, while in the Finance department the Reserve Bank is to be free from all political interference on their part. They can speak in both Houses, though they can vote only in the House to which they belong.

(3) *The Counsellors.* The Governor-General has three Counsellors, appointed by him to advise him in those matters in which he may act at his own discretion.

B. The Federal Legislature. It consists of two Houses: the Council of State and the Federal Assembly.

(1) *The Council of State*, consisting of 156 representa-

tives of British India and at least 52 but not more than 104 representatives of the Indian States, is in effect permanent, *i.e.* every third year one-third of its members shall retire, and the vacancies will be filled up by election.

(2) *The Federal Assembly*, consisting of 250 representatives of British India and not more than 125 representatives of the Indian States, continues for 5 years, unless dissolved sooner, and the expiration of that period operates as a dissolution of the Assembly.

N.B.—As regards the powers of Legislature on Federal subjects, a bill may originate in either Chamber, but it must be agreed to by both Chambers. In case of disagreement between the two Chambers, the fate of the bill will be settled by a joint sitting of the two Chambers. A bill must receive the assent of the Governor-General. This may be withheld, or the bill may be returned to the Chambers with suggested amendments, or it may be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure. The Budget is to be placed before the two Chambers. Some of its estimates can be granted, refused, or reduced by the Chambers—rejected estimates can be restored by the Governor-General's authentication—others dealing with expenditure charged upon revenues of the Federation can only be discussed, but are non-votable; others still, such as the Governor-General's salary and the expenses incurred by the Crown in its relations with the Indian States, cannot even be discussed.

II. THE PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTION

A. The Provincial Executive. It consists of the Governor of the Province and a Council of Ministers.

(1) *The Governor of the Province* is appointed by the King, and his powers may be divided according to the responsibilities involved, for he acts on the advice of his Ministers, or independently of the Ministers in his own discretion, and is responsible to the Governor-General.

(*a*) Acting on the advice of his Ministers. In all that regards Provincial administration he has to follow the advice of his Ministers, in all departments. Dyarchy is suppressed and there are no reserved departments. This is called responsible government.

(*b*) Acting in his own discretion. He chooses his Ministers, who hold office during his pleasure, and dismisses an unpopular or refractory Ministry. He may summon the Chambers, prorogue them, or dissolve the Legislative Assembly. He assents to bills, withholds his assent, reserves the bill for the consideration of the Governor-General, or returns the bill with suggested amendments.

He carries out the directions laid down in the Instrument given him on his appointment, and has to secure the preservation of peace, the safeguarding of the interests of the minorities, the members of the Public Services, and the Indian States, the preservation of peace and good government in the excluded areas, the prevention of discrimination against individuals or bodies exempt from the operation of Federal and Provincial Laws, the prevention of interference with orders issued to him by the Governor-General.

He may concert measures to combat terrorism, and

refuse to disclose the source of information on which he acts. In extreme cases he may promulgate laws called Governor's Acts, and he may issue Proclamations, which are similar in effect to those of the Governor-General.

(2) *The Ministers.* The Ministers are chosen by the Governor and are entrusted with all the Provincial departments, dyarchy being suppressed. On their appointment they must either belong to the Provincial Legislature or find a seat within six months. They are responsible to the Legislature and have to resign when a formal vote of censure is passed against them. If they refuse to resign the Governor can dismiss them.

B. **The Provincial Legislature.** In Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar, and Assam there are two legislative chambers—the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly, the latter having many more members than the former.

The respective numbers of seats in the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly are 56 and 215 for Madras, 30 and 175 for Bombay, 65 and 250 for Bengal, 60 and 228 for the United Provinces, 30 and 152 for Bihar, 22 and 108 for Assam.

The other Provinces have but one legislative chamber, *i.e.* the Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Councils are permanent, like the Council of State, not subject to dissolution, one-third of their members retiring every year. Some of their members are nominated, the others elected.

The Legislative Assemblies, unless sooner dissolved, continue for five years. Their members are elected.

As regards the process of legislation on Provincial subjects, the voting of supplies rests solely with the Legislative Assembly. All money bills must likewise

originate in the Legislative Assembly; other bills may originate in either House. A bill must receive the Governor's assent. This assent may be withheld, or the bill may be returned with suggested amendments, or may be reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General. The Provincial Budget is to be placed before the Chambers; some of its estimates can only be discussed and are non-votable.

N.B.—The Franchise. The Provincial electorate will comprise 14 per cent. of the total Indian population (33,000,000) as compared with 3 per cent. (7,315,000) under the old constitution.

III. CHIEF COMMISSIONERS' PROVINCES

These Provinces are administered by the Governor-General through Chief Commissioners chosen by him.

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

(1) *The Federal Judicature.* The Federal Court consists of a Chief Justice and not more than six puisne judges. It settles constitutional disputes between the Federation and the constituent units of it; it hears appeals from High Courts in cases in which the interpretation of the 1935 Act is involved; it may be authorised to hear Civil Appeals from Provincial High Courts.

(2) *The Commander-in-Chief.* The Governor-General has supreme command of the Military, Naval, and Air Forces, but the King may appoint a Commander-in-Chief to exercise in relation to those forces such functions as may be assigned to him.

(3) *Advocate-General.* Provision is made for the appointment of an Advocate-General to the Federal

Government and another to each of the Provincial Governments, in order to give advice on legal matters.

(4) *The Secretary of State.* He is the Crown's responsible agent, to whom the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors are constitutionally responsible for the exercise of their special powers when acting in their discretion. He is a member of the Cabinet and of Parliament, to which bodies he is responsible. As the Council of India is to be dissolved, the Secretary of State has to choose not less than three and not more than six advisers, to hold office during five years, unless sooner dismissed by him, and not eligible for reappointment. The Secretary of State is not obliged to consult them except in some matters prescribed by the Act.

His salary and that of his advisers is paid by Parliament, but the Federation has to defray the expenses incurred for work done on behalf of the Federation as agreed between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General. He is entrusted with the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, and the Indian Police Service.

As both the Governor-General and the Governors are to a large extent empowered to act in their discretion—for all of which actions they are responsible to the Secretary of State—the latter's powers are much greater than one would at first suppose.

No. 4.—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Definition. By Local Self-Government is here meant a special form of administration prevalent in towns and in rural areas, according to which local affairs are entrusted to the care of representative bodies whose

members are partly appointed and partly elected from among the people.

I. THE MUNICIPALITY

Development of Municipalities. Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras enjoyed the privilege of local administrative institutions as far back as the year 1726. More than a century, however, had to elapse before other towns in India were given similar privileges ; and the creation of a large number of Municipalities took place in 1850. In the beginning these Municipal bodies were entirely composed of members nominated by Government ; and the principle of elective representation was but slowly and gradually introduced. By the famous resolution of Lord Ripon in 1882, Municipal Local Self-Government was firmly established. For Lord Ripon laid down the rules concerning the constitution, powers, and functions of Municipalities ; greatly extended the elective principle ; and, at the same time, conferred upon Municipal bodies a larger share of independence and responsibility.

Definition. The Municipality, or the Municipal administrative body, is composed of a number of leading citizens, partly appointed and partly elected, in order to look after the welfare of a town.

Duties. They are chiefly entrusted with the carrying out of sanitary arrangements, such as the cleanliness of streets and houses, specially in industrial quarters, the superintendence of markets, the erection and building of hospitals, the prevention and combating of infectious diseases. They have also to see to the general comforts of their fellow-townsmen, and among these comforts may be mentioned : an abundant water-supply, the repair of the roads, the lighting of the streets, the

providing of cheap and easy means of conveyance, and the supplying of other modern conveniences such as telephonic communication all over the city and its suburbs. Finally, they have also charge of educational establishments known as Municipal Schools.

Powers. In order to enable it to do its work properly the Municipality stands in need of money. Accordingly, Municipalities are empowered to levy various kinds of taxes, such as taxes on houses, water, carriages, horses and bullocks, motor-cars, and entertainments. They can also levy taxes on goods imported into the city from without; and, finally, in order to cover the expenses of improvement schemes, they are also, under certain conditions, entitled to raise loans.

II. LOCAL BOARDS

Definition. Local Boards are an extension of the Municipality system to the mofussil. Just as the local affairs of the town are being looked after by its leading citizens, so the local affairs of a rural area are entrusted to the care of its residents.

Development of Local Boards. Local Boards were first introduced by Lord Ripon in 1882. The original Local Boards were of three kinds. A rural district was divided into various rural areas; and at the head of each area there was a *Minor Board*. The Minor Boards were under the control of the *District Board*, which presided over the whole district; and they had also to send delegates to the *District Council* for the settlement and passing of common measures affecting the whole of the district. These various boards served the useful purpose of associating Indians with the work of local administration, and thus caused all over the country a general awakening of interest in public affairs.

In course of time the Local Boards, established by Lord Ripon, underwent various changes. Moreover, these modifications were effected by the Provincial Governments, so that the Local Boards are not the same in the different provinces. The system prevalent in Madras closely resembles the original Local Boards as devised and organised during Lord Ripon's administration, inasmuch as according to that system various local affairs are looked after by the Panchayat, the Taluka Boards, and the District Boards. In Bombay there are only two Local Boards. A group of villages constitutes a taluka, and a number of talukas constitutes a District. At the head of each district is the District Board; and at the head of a taluka is a Taluka Board.

These Local Boards, which form a part of Local Self-Government, should not be confused with the Advisory Board of the Collector (District Board) and the Advisory Board of the Sub-Divisional Officer (Taluka Board): for the latter two Boards belong to the Provincial Government, under which heading they have already been mentioned.

Duties. The members of the Local Boards, who are partly appointed and partly elected, the non-official element forming the majority, are entrusted with practically the same duties with which the Municipality is entrusted in towns. Among their functions may be mentioned the maintenance and improvement of roads, the establishment of primary schools, the upkeep of dispensaries, and the construction and superintendence of markets.

Powers. In order to defray their expenses they are empowered to raise certain taxes on houses and lands and to derive a certain amount of income from school-

fees and dispensaries. They are also subsidised by Government contributions.

III. THE PANCHAYAT

The whole system of the Local Boards is but a development of the old Indian village system or Panchayat. In former times there seems to have been prevalent in every village a peculiar form of local administration known as the Panchayat system. It came to be so called because the affairs of the village were looked after by a headman and by a council of the most influential among the villagers, generally five in number. The village headman had various officials under him, among whom the village watchman and the village accountant were the two most important.

The headman and his council took charge of the legislative and judicial part of government. They decided on the measures to be adopted for the common good, settled disputes among the villagers, and punished the evil-doers. The headman and the official under him carried out the executive part of government, which mainly consisted in enforcing the decisions of the Panchayat.

That this system of village government, when properly carried out, is productive of great advantages, is self-evident. Accordingly, in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report the attention of Government was specially directed to the development of the panchayat system in villages. It was proposed that, if the system could be made to work properly, the modern panchayat might be endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases, with some administrative powers as regards sanitation, and with permissive power of imposing a local rate.

No. 5.—INDIAN FINANCE

Indian Finance is both a vast and complex problem; but for our purpose it is sufficient to speak of it under the following three headings—the Revenue, the Chief Heads of Expenditure, and the Budget.

The Revenue. The revenue is the amount of money which the Government obtains from the inhabitants of the country to defray the national expenses. This money is made up of the taxes which the inhabitants pay and of the profit which the Government realises from the management of great business concerns. Among the taxes the most important are the following: the land revenue, the salt tax, the excise tax, the customs duties, and the income-tax.

The land revenue has already been fully dealt with elsewhere; it is sufficient for our purpose to mention here that it amounts to about one-fourth of the whole revenue and exceeds £24,000,000. The salt tax is in itself low; but, because of the extensive consumption of this household article, Government obtains thereby a revenue of over £6,000,000. The excise tax is levied on liquors and drugs produced and sold in the country, and is responsible for the addition of about £11,000,000 to the revenue. Opium contributes £1,500,000; and the sale of stamps brings in £9,000,000. The customs duties are levied on various articles either exported from or imported into India. They provide the Government with an annual income of over £34,000,000. The income-tax is the amount to be paid by all those who have a yearly income of one thousand rupees, except where this income is derived from agriculture; for in that case the owner of the land has already paid the land tax. The income-tax produces more than

£13,000,000. The total revenue, Central and Provincial, derived from taxation exceeds £100,000,000. The figures given are for the year 1931-32.

But besides this, there are various great business concerns, the management of which is in the hands of Government. The most important are the construction and working of railways, irrigation works, the cultivation and management of forests, the sale of stamps attached to commercial and legal documents, the Post Office and telegraphs, etc. The total gross revenue of the Central and Provincial Governments for 1931-32 exceeded £153,000,000. It should be noted, however, that Central and Provincial revenue and expenditure have been separated since 1921.

Heads of Expenditure. As we have already had occasion to say, the revenue is used by Government to pay Government officials and to finance various schemes adopted by Government for the welfare of the country. The chief heads of expenditure are the following: posts and telegraphs, the mint, salaries of Government officials, the railways, irrigation, famine relief, besides other public works, and last but not least the army.

The Budget. In connection with the revenue a word must be said on the budget. The budget is a financial scheme drawn up by the Government at the beginning of the financial year in order to balance as far as possible the revenue which they receive and the expenses which they have to make. If the expenses greatly exceed the revenue, the deficit is covered by increased taxation, unless the expenses are cut down so as to equal the revenue.

Both the Central and Local Governments draw up a budget, each within its own sphere of action, and there

is therefore an imperial and a provincial budget. As regards both the imperial and the provincial budget certain heads of expenditure as well as the introduction of new taxes are open to discussion by the legislature of the Imperial and of the Provincial Governments. As a rule the heads not open to discussion in the Legislative Councils (Provincial Legislature) are concerned with reserved subjects. There are also certain heads of expenditure (army, military works, etc.) which are not open to discussion in the Council of State and in the Legislative Assembly (Imperial Legislature). But, barring these exceptions, there are many heads of expenditure open to discussion; and the discussion of the budget is one of the most important items on the programme of the Indian Legislative Houses, both central and local.

N.B.—See also the various questions on the land-revenue system in the chapter on that subject.

No. 6.—THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY

I. THE POLICE

According to the Police Act of 1861 the police administration is organised on the following lines:

The police administration is under the control of the Provincial Government. At the head of the Provincial Police System, there is an Inspector-General, in whom is vested the entire control of the police force of a province. The province is further divided into districts, subdivisions of a district, and local police stations exercising jurisdiction over a number of villages. District Superintendents are at the head of districts; Inspectors are at the head of the subdivisions of a district; Sub-Inspectors or Head-Constables are at the head of local police stations; and Village Chaukidars

have to report crime and to watch suspects in their respective villages.

Besides the ordinary police force, there are various other organisations to maintain order in the country; the most important are the Railway Police, the Military Police in frontier tracts in Bengal, Assam, and Burma; and the Criminal Intelligence Department. The cost of the police force system amounts to over £5,000,000 annually.

II. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Civil Justice. Civil Courts enforce the rights or redress the wrongs of individuals in cases that are not criminal; that is to say, in cases which are not the result of a wicked motive, and are not extremely injurious to Society or to the State.

Criminal Justice. Criminal Courts inflict punishment on criminals, that is, on men who perpetrate actions which are the result of a wicked motive, and which are extremely injurious to Society or to the State.

The following scheme gives an idea of the various judicial courts, both criminal and civil, which are here mentioned in descending order of dignity:

Criminal Justice

1. The High Court.
2. The District or Sessions Court.
3. The Court of the Magistrate of the First Class.
4. The Court of the Magistrate of the Second Class.
5. The Court of the Magistrate of the Third Class.
6. Honorary Magistrates in Presidency Towns.

Civil Justice

1. The High Court.
2. The District or Sessions Court.

3. The Court of the Subordinate Judge of the First Class.
4. The Court of the Subordinate Judge of the Second Class.
5. The Court of the District Munsiff.
6. Small Causes Court in many important centres.

According to this plan there is in each province a Civil and a Criminal High Court or Chief Court. These High Courts are invested with supreme judicial power. Furthermore, in each district there is a Civil and Criminal Court (District Sessions), similar to those English Courts of Justice which are held twice a year in every county, and commonly known as Assizes. Finally, under the Civil and Criminal District Courts are the inferior Civil and Criminal Courts. The High Court and the District Courts decide important cases both in civil and criminal matters. Less important cases are referred to the inferior courts.

Thus, for example, First Class, Second Class, and Third Class Magistrates are empowered to fine up to Rs. 1,000, Rs. 200, and Rs. 100 respectively. Again, First Class, Second Class, and Third Class Magistrates are empowered to inflict terms of imprisonment amounting to two years, to six months, and to one month respectively. Similarly the jurisdiction of the inferior civil courts is limited by the amount of money involved in them.

Furthermore, if the parties concerned should not be satisfied with the sentence of the judge who has decided the case, they generally are free to appeal to a higher court. But from the High Court there is no appeal to any other Court of Justice in India, and accordingly such appeals must be made to the Privy Council in England.

By way of conclusion it will be useful to point out that the various courts, both civil and criminal, though

they carry out their judicial work independently, are all of them under constant control and active supervision; and it is the special province of the High Courts to exercise supervision over all the other courts.

III. EXTERNAL DEFENCE

India is defended against external aggression by the navy and the army. The navy protecting India is the British Navy, for the upkeep of which the British tax-payer is responsible. There are also a few ships, called the Indian Marine, that watch the ports and the mouths of tidal rivers. The army which is to defend India against foreign invasion also serves the purpose of holding the country in military occupancy, and of putting down such disturbances as cannot be kept in hand by the police. The Regular Army consists of 250,000 men, of whom 80,000 are British. It is under the control of the Commander-in-Chief who is always a member of the Imperial Executive Council. Besides the Regular Army there are various auxiliary forces such as the Volunteers (35,000), the Imperial Service Troops (18,000), the Frontier Militia (6,000), and the Military Police (16,000). The upkeep of the army in India is one of the most expensive items of the yearly budget; and this is a sore point with many political leaders.

No. 7.—THE PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY

I. EDUCATION

History of Education. During the administration of Lord Bentinck, Indians became eligible to public offices and appointments. It became therefore imperative to provide them with the necessary educational equip-

ment; for unless educational establishments were opened, the majority of the Indians would never be able to take advantage of the opportunities offered them. On that occasion a battle-royal was fought between the Orientalists, who were the champions of Sanskrit and Arabic, and the Anglicists, who were anxious to introduce English as the medium of instruction in public schools. The Anglicists, owing to Macaulay's masterly pleadings, won the day; and thus English became the medium of instruction in all public schools and colleges in 1835.

In its first efforts to spread education, Government addressed itself specially to the upper classes; and it was only towards 1854 that the question of elementary education was brought to the fore, and that the whole educational system was reorganised on a more scientific basis. In each Province there was to be a Department of Public Instruction, and in each Presidency town there was to be a University. Besides the establishment of University Colleges, provision was made for the opening of High Schools, of Vernacular Schools, and of Schools intermediary between the latter and the High Schools.

Present System of Education. The present educational system comprises Primary Education, Secondary Education, Higher Education, Technical Education, Education among special sections of the community, and the Educational Service.

Primary Education. The object and aim of Primary Education is to decrease the number of illiterates, by whom are meant all the persons who can neither read nor write. Accordingly the instruction imparted in primary schools is most elementary, and is mainly concerned with the three Rs. Among the primary schools some are directly administered by the Government;

others are run by municipalities under Government control; and others still are managed by private individuals. There are at present over 100,000 primary schools, and they are attended by about 4,000,000 children.

Secondary Education. Secondary Education comprises Vernacular Middle Schools, English Middle Schools, and High Schools. In the Vernacular and the English Middle Schools, pupils are being trained with a view to prepare them for some employment, the difference between the two being that in the former the English course is entirely omitted, whilst in the latter the English language is an important part of the course of study. The High Schools, leading up to the matriculation or to the school final examination, prepare boys for the University Colleges. There are altogether about 6,000 High Schools, and they are attended by about 700,000 pupils.

Higher Education. Higher Education, by which is here meant the instruction imparted in Colleges, prepares students for the various University degrees. At the head of a University there is a Chancellor, who is the head of the province in which the University is situated. He is assisted by a Vice-Chancellor and by 100 ex-officio and ordinary Fellows. Out of these 100 Fellows a Senate is formed; and in the members of the Senate all legislative authority is vested. Besides the Senate there is a Syndicate; and the executive authority is in the hands of the members of the Syndicate. Furthermore, there are Boards of Examiners, Boards of Studies, and Boards of Inspection. The Boards of Inspection visit the various colleges, report on the work done in them, and decide whether new colleges should be affiliated to, and recognised by the

University. The Boards of Studies are chiefly concerned with the selection of text-books and also draw up programmes of studies. The Boards of Examiners appoint the examiners, and supervise and control the examinations.

University Education is being rapidly extended all over India. The number of students joining the colleges is increasing year by year; whilst the most important development in Higher Education in recent times has been the foundation of a Hindu University at Benares, and of a Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

Technical Education. Under this heading may be grouped: Industrial Schools, that go in for the teaching of handicrafts; Engineering Colleges, that train students for the Public Works Department; Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges, and the Schools of Medicine and Arts.

Education among Special Sections of the Community. Efforts have been made to spread education among the members of the Muhammadan community; similarly Female Education is also being greatly encouraged; furthermore, special colleges have been opened for the sons of the Indian nobility. The Anglo-Indian community has also been liberally encouraged; and finally efforts have been made to break down the barriers that prevent children of lower caste people from receiving instruction.

The Educational Service. The Educational Service consists of the Education Member, the Director of Public Instruction, Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors, Professors in Colleges, and Teachers in Government Schools. The Education Member belongs to the Imperial Executive Council. He is at the head of the

entire Educational Department, and controls, supervises, and directs the activities of the provincial educational authorities. The Director of Public Instruction is at the head of the Educational Department in a province; he controls, supervises, and directs the activities of Inspectors and of Assistant Inspectors. On Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors falls most of the drudgery. They have to visit the various schools, and to report on the way in which they are run.

The Educational Service is divided into three grades —the Indian Educational Service, the Provincial Educational Service, and the Subordinate Educational Service. The members of the Indian Educational Service are mainly British University men. They are Principals of Colleges, Professors, Headmasters, and Inspectors of Schools. The members of the Provincial and Subordinate Educational Service are Indians, and they are employed in various capacities either as Principals of Colleges, Inspectors, Headmasters and Teachers in High Schools or Primary Schools.

II. SANITATION

Medical Department. *Constitution.* Medical officers are distributed, according to qualification, into various classes. There are Indian Medical Service men, Civil Assistant Surgeons, Civil Hospital Assistants, Military Assistant Surgeons, and Military Hospital Assistants. Indian Medical Service men are those who secure the first places in a competitive examination held in England; they are the most competent among the medical officers, and therefore hold the most responsible positions. Civil and Military Assistant Surgeons graduate from Indian Medical Colleges; and Civil and

Military Hospital Assistants have lower professional qualifications. and are usually trained in medical schools.

Organisation. The administrative head of the Indian Medical Department is the Director-General, Indian Medical Service; under his control are the various provincial medical departments, which are subdivided into district medical departments. At the head of the provincial medical department is the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals; at the head of the district medical department is the Civil Surgeon; the other subordinate medical officers are the Assistant Surgeons and the Hospital Assistants.

Activities. The work of the medical department includes hospitals, dispensaries, and lunatic asylums; vital statistics, general sanitation, and vaccination; and the health of ports and shipping.

As regards the hospitals, the most important are the hospitals in the Presidency towns and the direct hospitals. The hospitals in the Presidency towns are directly under Government control; and in each Presidency town there is a General Hospital connected with the local Medical College. These hospitals are largely staffed by Indian Medical Service men. As regards the district hospitals the principal hospital is always situated at the headquarters of the District, and is under the immediate charge of the Civil Surgeon assisted by subordinate officers. Next in importance after the district hospitals are the district dispensaries, the management of which is frequently vested in Local Boards.

Sanitary Department. *Constitution.* The members of the Sanitary Department are the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, and the

members of various Sanitary Boards—Provincial, District, Local, and Municipal.

Organisation. At the head of the Sanitary Department is the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India; he controls the various provincial sanitary departments. The Provincial Sanitary Department is under the control of a Sanitary Board assisted by a Sanitary Engineer. The Provincial Sanitary Department is divided into district sanitary departments under the control of the District Board and the Civil Surgeons. The District Sanitary Department is subdivided into Local Sanitary departments under the control of Local Boards that are entrusted with the care of village sanitation.

Furthermore, a highly organised and really effective municipal sanitary department has been developed in municipal, and specially in Presidency towns. Thus, for example, in Bombay the sanitary organisation of the town is subdivided into four main departments: water-supply, drainage, sewage, and conservancy. At the head of each of the first three departments is an engineer; and these three engineers are subordinate to the Health Officer who is the chief Sanitary Officer in the town of Bombay.

Activities. The work of the Sanitary Department is connected with the water-supply, drainage, sewage, conservancy, the cleaning of streets and open places, the improvement of insanitary dwellings, the suppression of offensive trades, the keeping of burial and burning grounds, the cleanliness of markets and slaughter-houses, and the destruction of unwholesome food. Perhaps it may be said that one of its most important works is the combating of infectious diseases such as plague, cholera, and smallpox.

III. PUBLIC WORKS

Public Works are naturally divided into Buildings and Roads, Irrigation and Railways. It was under the administration of Dalhousie that a Public Works Department was officially established.

Organisation. The various matters connected with the Public Works Department are divided into essentials and details. By *essentials* are here meant the distribution of grants, the control of the more important establishments, and the sanctioning of large projects and estimates for Imperial Works. By *details* are here meant the execution of individual works, the appointment of less important officers, and the sanctioning of estimates for Provincial Works. The Imperial Government controls the *essentials*, the Provincial Government controls the *details*. At the head of the public works is the Member for Public Works who belongs to the Imperial Executive Council. The Provincial Public Works are divided in the following manner. Each province is divided into circles; and each circle is subdivided into divisions. A circle is under the control of a superintending engineer; a division is looked after by an Executive Engineer.

Activities. The activities of the Public Works Department are manifold, and include the building of canals, the digging of wells and tanks, the making of roads and buildings, the building of harbours and dockyards, the construction of telegraph and railway lines, bridges, and ports.

The magnitude of the work achieved may be gathered from the following statistics. In 1857 the Indian Government had opened 300 miles of railway which carried during the year two million passengers and

253,000 tons of goods. In 1931-32 there were 42,753 miles of railway, which carried during the year 506 million passengers and 75 million tons of goods. In the same year the railway service gave employment to 730,000 persons, of whom 726,000 were Indians.

Again, as regards irrigation works in 1857, the total area irrigated from all the canal systems amounted to 1,500,000 acres. In the year 1931 the total area that received water-supply from all the public irrigation works in India was 31,000,000 acres. Furthermore, in 1857 there were 3,000 miles of single telegraph wire, and a few score telegraph offices. In 1932 there was a total length of 107,000 miles of line with 583,000 miles of wire; there were also 13,000 telegraph offices, and seventeen million messages passed that year over the wires.

Department of Commerce and Industry. The growth of the railway business attained such proportions that in 1905 the control of the railway was taken from the Public Works Department, and vested in a Railway Board consisting of a Chairman and two members; thus a new department was created under the name of Department of Commerce and Industry. At the head of the Indian Railway System is the Member for Commerce and Industry, who controls the Railway Board. Besides this each Railway is under the control of an Agent, who is the chief railway officer. The Agent is assisted by a Traffic Manager, a Chief Engineer, a Locomotive Superintendent, and a Store-keeper; and all have a large number of assistants.

IV. PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

As India is essentially an agricultural country, it is but natural that Government should specially look after the agricultural interests of India. This is all the

more necessary, because in many parts of India the farmer is entirely at the mercy of an erratic monsoon, and either scarcity or superabundance of rain may prove equally fatal. We will therefore mention some of the measures taken by Government to protect the farmer.

Preventive Measures. First of all in order to protect the farmers Government tries to prevent famines. Accordingly irrigation works are being carried out with ever-increasing efficiency in order to make up for scarcity of rain in times of drought. Special attention is devoted to the preservation of the existing forests and to the planting of new ones, because in tropical regions absence of forests results in aridity of soil. Furthermore, rivers are encased between high and solid embankments, lest, in times of diluvial rain, the river should overflow the surrounding fields, and destroy the harvest. Finally, a number of co-operative societies have been started, and the peasantry are strongly advised to deposit in their banks their little savings, and allow them to accumulate so that, if famine should come over the land, its inhabitants may not find themselves helplessly deprived of every means of providing for themselves and completely unable to buy seed for the next harvest.

Relief Measures. When famine swoops down upon certain parts of the country, Government tries to minimise the sufferings of the stricken population and to save as many lives as possible by starting relief works. Relief works are generally connected with the building of roads and railways, or the digging of canals. All those who are able to work are thus engaged in works of public usefulness, whilst the children, the aged, and the infirm are concentrated in famine camps. At the same time the large net of railway lines is then used for the

carrying of foodstuffs into the stricken area. In times of famine the farmers find it, of course, impossible to pay the land revenue; accordingly the land revenue is either remitted or reduced, and money advances are even made to the cultivators to enable them to buy seed for the next harvest, and cattle for re-stocking their farms.

No. 8.—THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

What does it mean? The Indian Civil Service consists of the men whom Government chooses for the management of the higher branches of the executive and judicial administration of the country.

Its History. In the days of the old East India Company, the writers, factors, and merchants of the Company transacted business with the Indians. But as the territories of the Company increased, and the trading policy made room for the policy of territorial acquisition, the administration of the occupied territories was, under Clive and Warren Hastings, entrusted to individuals specially chosen for the task. Up to the year 1853, the Company exercised a free choice in the appointment of its servants; but in that year the Company was deprived of the right of patronage, and the various posts were thrown open to public competition.

The competitive examination, held in England, has always been open to all British subjects; but, in course of time, the examination has undergone various modifications as regards the subjects of the examination and the age-limit of the candidates. In 1867 the Civil Service was divided into three branches. There is, first of all, the Imperial Civil Service recruited in England by

competitive examination and open to all British subjects, though there were but few Indians that succeeded in joining it. Next comes the Provincial Indian Service, chiefly recruited from educated Indians in the provinces either by competitive examination or by gradual promotion from the subordinate service. Finally there is the Subordinate Service almost entirely recruited from Indians.

Of late the constitution of the Civil Service has been considerably modified; Indians are given better opportunities than they had before to take part in the competitive examination, which will no longer be exclusively held in England.

No. 9.—NATIVE STATES

Number and Division. There are about 700 native states in India; and they are distributed into three classes. *First Class:* The first class states are five in number; Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, and Nepal. These states are free from all provincial control; neither are they under the control of an agent, but are directly under the Viceroy. *Second Class:* The second class states, numbering about 170, are under the control of an agent directly responsible to the Viceroy. There are three agencies: the Central India Agency, the Baluchistan Agency, and the Rajputana Agency. *Third Class:* The third class states are directly under Provincial control, and have direct dealings with the provincial rulers of Bengal, the United Provinces, Bombay, the Punjab, and Burma.

POWERS OF THE NATIVE STATES

The native states are free to make their own laws, coin their own money, and determine their own taxes.

But they are not free to enter into alliances with foreign powers, create new armies, or to increase the strength of their standing armies, to build forts, or erect ammunition factories, or wage war on neighbouring states. Furthermore, the Indian rulers are expected to watch over the welfare of their subjects and to suppress evil practices ; for popular discontent or civil strife would be followed by British interference.

MOHENJO-DARO

Date of Discovery. Mohenjo-daro is situated about twenty-five miles south of Larkana in middle Sind, and it has recently become famous as one of the most extraordinary archaeological finds made in India. Attention was first called to the pre-historic nature of this find in 1922; and after further investigation, extensive excavations were decided upon, of which the result has surpassed the most sanguine expectations.

An Ancient City. Working on a plot of a square mile of ground, the excavators have laid bare the ruins of an ancient city, not built haphazardly, but after a skilfully conceived plan, with a network of roads, streets, lanes and alleys. The roads vary in width from 33 to 18 and 13 feet; the streets are from 9 to 12 feet broad; the lanes and alleys are at least 4 feet wide and often more. The interstices of this network of ways are occupied by houses, of which the walls stand 18 and 25 feet high, though the lowest level of the city has not yet been reached. The houses are made of burnt and unburnt brick, well proportioned, and as a rule twice as long as broad and half as thick. Many of these houses were storeyed buildings, for on their ground floors are still to be seen narrow staircases of burnt brick, leading to the upper storeys no longer extant; and the presence of square holes in the walls still indicates where the beams were laid across to form the floor of the upper part of the building. Several of these houses are provided with courtyards and flanked with servants' quarters; and most of them have their own wells,

bathrooms and latrines. One of the most astonishing sanitary features of the city is a perfectly laid out drainage system.

Its Inhabitants. From the above description it is obvious that the people of Mohenjo-daro had a civilisation of their own, which compares favourably with that obtaining in other countries at a much later period. The following details may help us to catch a glimpse of that civilisation in the distant past.

The women of Mohenjo-daro were fond of jewellery. Among the objects unearthed there are necklaces, stone beads, an elaborate girdle—all of them placed in silver, copper or bronze vessels. What their attire was like may be gathered from a number of female figurines that have been found. These figurines have short skirts fastened round the waist by means of a girdle; and they are bedecked with jewellery: necklaces, ear-rings, nose-ornaments, finger-rings, bangles, bracelets and anklets.

The men were artisans and warriors. They knew the saw and the chisel; and there have been discovered all sorts of warlike implements: blade-axes, a battle-axe, copper swords and dirks, spear-blades, daggers, knives of a curious shape, arrow-heads, and stone mace-heads.

Their way of living was not perhaps so very different from our own; among the household articles that have been found there are mills for grinding grain, stone weights, earthenware food-stands, large storage-jars, and even razors.

Significance of the Discovery. There is therefore irrefutable evidence that Mohenjo-daro was the seat of an ancient civilisation, of which traces have likewise been found in other parts of India, notably at Harappa,

which is situated more than 400 miles north-east of Mohenjo-daro in the Punjab. The question naturally presents itself: When did those people of Mohenjo-daro live, and to what race did they belong? Were they Aryans or Dravidians; or perhaps pre-Aryans and ante-Dravidians? The answer to this question is likely to shed new light on the early beginnings of the ancient history of India. It may come to pass that the hitherto praised civilising activities of the Aryans be relegated to the background. The Dravidians on the contrary may possibly come to the fore. But all these are at present here eventualities, and will remain so, as long as the secret of the Mohenjo-daro seals is not unravelled.

Solution of the Problem. The solution of the problem centres round the puzzling Mohenjo-daro script. Among the objects discovered in the ruins of Sind are over a thousand seals, marked with figures of animals and strange signs. These animal figures and cabbalistic signs are supposed to be specimens of Mohenjo-daro writing; and their deciphering is being eagerly attempted by research workers in India and elsewhere. As yet these attempts have not been crowned with success; and Mohenjo-daro, which means *the City of the dead*, has not yet been called back to life by the deciphering of its seals.

SUMMARY

Mohenjo-daro

Site of discovery: Middle Sind, 1922.

An ancient city: Drainage system; brick-built, storeyed houses with courtyards and servants' quarters, wells, bathrooms, latrines; roads, streets, lanes, alleys.

The inhabitants: The women fond of jewellery—female figures bedecked with jewels; the men both artisans and warriors—saw and chisel; axes, swords, spears; other household articles; mills for grinding grain, food-stands, storage-jars, razors.

Significance: Seat of an ancient civilisation (Harappa) involving problems of time and race, likely to affect the beginnings of early Indian history.

Solution of problem: The Mohenjo-daro seals, and their deciphering.

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